



## The Architectural Review Gothic Number

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# The Architectural Review Gothic Number

## Contents

### Act 1: Rococo Gothic

#### WALPOLE, BENTLEY AND STRAWBERRY HILL

Walpole bought Strawberry Hill in 1747. In 1750 he decided to convert the insignificant little house into a Gothic villa—the first ever designed and furnished. He did not set a fashion; for Gothic had already been popular on a smaller scale in the forties; but he established it. And as Bentley, his brilliant and exasperating co-operator between 1751 and 1761, had a Rococo charm and Rococo wit, not inferior to any French or German decorator's, Strawberry Hill Gothic is Rococo in Gothic garb.



### Act 3: Christian Gothic. Scene 1

#### WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD

The Catholic and High Church revival of the thirties and forties found its strongest architectural expression in Pugin's writings and buildings, and in the writings published and the buildings inspired by the Cambridge Camden Society. The greatest architect championed by the Camdenians was Butterfield. His work and the hard, violent character of his style are analysed in a detailed article by Mr. Summerson. Their true meaning had never before been brought out so clearly and forcefully.



### Act 2: Romantic Gothic. Scene 1

#### GOETHE AND STRASSBURG

Walpole's fashion reached the Continent about 1760. Bright young princes and noblemen, especially in Germany, followed it with gusto. Dessau and Weimar were the chief exiles of the new Gothic à l'anglaise. But even before young Goethe had been called to Weimar, Gothic had come to mean to him something greater and deeper. As a student at Strassburg he discovered in 1772 the creative splendour and manly vigour of mediæval art. His epoch-making essay appears here in Mr. Grigson's new translation and with a commentary by Mr. Pevsner.



### Act 3: Christian Gothic. Scene 2

#### NEWMAN AND LITTLEMORE

The connection between religious revival and architecture is less well known and less easily discernible in the case of the Oxford Movement than in the case of the Cambridge Camden Movement. So it is something of a discovery if Mr. John Rothenstein in his article introduces Littlemore, near Oxford, as a church not only built by Newman but also designed by him. Newman at that time was 34 years of age. It is a small but dignified building, decidedly past the picturesque stage of Gothicism.



### Act 2: Romantic Gothic. Scene 2

#### RICKMAN AND CAMBRIDGE

While Goethe thus worked out for himself and the Schlegel circle in Germany the romantic interpretation of Gothic art, England's romantics followed a different course. In England romanticism and the Picturesque had grown together, and now, chiefly after 1800, in major works from Fonthill to the Houses of Parliament this Picturesque version of Gothicism reigned supreme. It comes off especially well in alliance with nature. Rickman's buildings for St. John's College, as discussed by Mr. Whiffen, are amongst the most successful examples of this union.



### Act 3: Christian Gothic. Scene 3

#### PUSEY AND LEEDS

The last article of this special number is a centenary article. A hundred years ago St. Saviour's, Leeds, was consecrated, the church presented as a penitential gift by Pusey. Its history is described by Mr. Pace with ample quotations from Pusey's letters, and its appearance is illustrated by contemporary lithographs and by recent photos. The church was designed by John Macduff Derick—an example of transition between Pugin and the dry antiquarianism which characterizes Act Four of the Gothic Revival. Act Five, the last act, is—needless to say—William Morris's.



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## Prologue

There are signs of a coming re-evaluation of the Gothic Revival. As we get further away from it, out of the danger zone of imitation, we begin to see its true character and originality. We are no longer deceived by its inadequate antiquarian show and can concentrate on its meaning. Sir Kenneth Clark's *Gothic Revival* of 1928 was a first sign of this change of attitude. Articles by various authors published in the last ten years or so in THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW on such topics as Fonthill, Pugin, Hafod, Alton Towers, Tethbury and so on were another. This special number should be read in conjunction with them and regarded as an interim statement on the new aesthetic and historical approach to Gothicism, an approach made possible only by the now unchallenged establishment of the modern movement as the style of our own century. The aesthetic of this has given us the necessary distance from, and—by contrast—the necessary sympathy with, the naïveté, richness, fantasy, "ugliness," stateliness of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Gothic. It is by tracing and enjoying such qualities that we are able to see through the embroidery of period imitation, now Perp, now Dec, now E.E., the real Rococo in Rococo Gothic, the real Romantic in Romantic Gothic and the real Victorian in Victorian Gothic.

To emphasize this the Gothic Revival is here presented as a play in three acts and six scenes. Strawberry Hill, for which the original drawings are for the first time adequately reproduced, serves to illustrate the Rococo stage, Goethe's apotheosis of Erwin of Steinbach, never yet properly appreciated in this country, stands for the coming of Romanticism, Rickman's buildings for St. John's at Cambridge for mature romantic Gothicism in England, a comprehensive essay on Butterfield and short articles on churches built by and for Newman and Pusey in the thirties and forties for the Christian Gothicism of the Victorian Anglo-Catholics.



The crisis in this play was the coming and going of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. Before him Gothicism had been a fashion—playful or horrific or Picturesque or all the three together. With him it became a matter of religion and ethics. Pugin was a romantic by character, circumstances and faith, the English parallel to the French world of *Ernani* as well as *Atala*, that is a fantastic, fiery fanatic. His brain, however, was clearer than Victor Hugo's or Chateaubriand's. It made him recognise—and he was a great innovator in this—that the Middle Ages possessed a unity of life and art which had gone from the West, when the revival of antiquity began. This discovery of his opened his eyes to the prime importance of function in architecture. The first page of his *True Principles* (the frontispiece of which is used for the cover of this number) has sentences such as these: "In pure architecture the smallest detail should have a meaning or serve a purpose," and "There should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety." However, these sentences are immediately followed by this proviso: "It is in pointed architecture alone that these great principles have been carried out." So Pugin by his belief in function, that is in truth, became an ardent convert to Gothicism. But it was not his belief in architectural truth alone that moved him. A stronger influence was his belief in the unshakable truth of the Roman religion. And Catholicism again

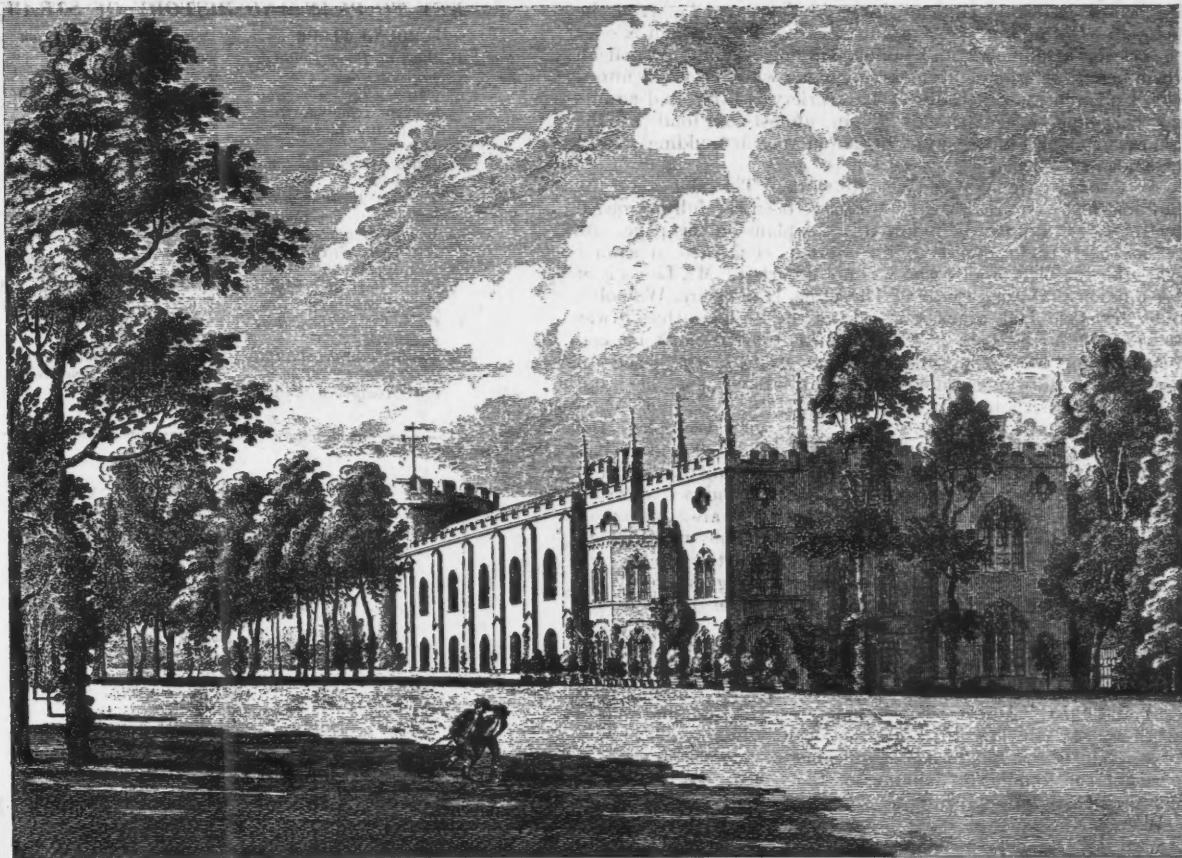
pointed to the Middle Ages as the era of greatest glory. So Gothic to Pugin became tantamount to Christian, and since Christian dogma allowed no deviation or progress, so the Gothic style could not allow any either. Hence Pugin could say that "the only hope of reviving the perfect style is by strictly adhering to ancient authorities" (*The Present State*, 1843, p. 83). This profession of faith in sheer copying is the start of Antiquarian Gothic in theory (in practice it had started at the same time with Scott's early churches and with Ferrey and Poynter)—Act Four of our play. Pugin's antiquarianism blunts the point of his functionalism. Had he gone one step further in his speculations on utility and frankly exposed purpose, he would, it seems, have reached right through Acts Three and Four into Act Five, the Ruskin and Morris movement with its effort towards a real union on the social level between art and the principles of life in the Middle Ages. This step, however, was beyond his mental capacity. His religion blurred his mind to the logical consequences of his own teachings. So his part in the history of British Gothicism is less that of the functional or the antiquarian than that of the religious reformer. It is due to him that Gothic was established as the Catholic style *par excellence*, Roman Catholic as well as Anglo-Catholic.



Richard Bentley's  
drawing of the  
Shrine at Straw-  
berry Hill







## A Act 1: Rococo Gothic. Walpole, Bentley and Strawberry Hill

RECENT research on Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill has been centred in the United States. Mr. W. S. Lewis is editing the learned and astonishingly complete Yale edition of the Walpole Letters. He also possesses a number of original drawings for Strawberry Hill and its furnishings. Others are the property of Viscount Chewton of Chewton Priory. Mr. Lewis published a selection of them all in an excellent essay ten years ago. Since this appeared in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* (Volume 5, 1934-36), a periodical not easily accessible to the general public in this country, it may be useful here to illustrate the best drawings again, with short notes based on Mr. Lewis's paper. The following pages are reserved for a first selection from them, exclusively from those done by Richard Bentley and preserved in Mr. Lewis's collection. Other material will be presented in a future issue together with photographs of the remarkable and never yet illustrated addition to Strawberry Hill, built for the Countess Waldegrave in 1856-62.

The choice of Bentley's drawings for this number has a good reason. They represent the purest expression of the Rococo spirit in the history of Strawberry Hill, and it is this spirit that needs the strongest emphasis in dealing with the first stage of the Gothic Revival in Britain.

Walpole was born in 1717, the fourth son of Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister. In 1747 he bought Strawberry Hill from Mrs. Chenevix, who ran a fashionable toy shop off Charing Cross. The house, when he moved into it, was minute, less than one-sixth of what it became under his hands—a "little plaything," as he calls it (Letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, June 8, 1747). He started redecorating at once, the work being small in scale and neither specially distinctive nor specially novel. However, in 1749, Walpole changed his plans. He decided to enlarge the villa and to make it into a "little Gothic castle" (To Horace Mann, January 10, 1750). On September 28 already he speaks of his "future battlements"; so a vision of what the house was going to be like must have been before his mind's eyes then. The effect which this decision of the irresponsible, leisurely, chatty and catty amateur has made to the history of architecture in Europe needs no special emphasis, but what must be stressed is the fact, too often overlooked, that Walpole by no means started the revival as such. Sir Kenneth Clark has quoted a passage from the third edition of Neve's *Complete Builder's Guide* of 1736 in which "the modern Gothick" is mentioned and praised for its delicacy and whimsicality. Then, in 1741, Batty Langley, indefatigable as a writer of handbooks for builders and amateurs, brought out his *Ancient Architecture*, of which a revised version appeared in 1747, called *Gothic Architecture*. In the same year Sanderson Miller built his famous sham ruin in the grounds of Hagley after having put up a similar

ruin already in 1746 at Edgehill. On April 12, 1752, *The World* described how Squire Mushroom embellished his old house by sham Gothic spires, and on March 22, 1753, the same fashionable paper wrote: "A few years ago everything was Gothic; our houses, our beds, our books, our couches were all copied from some parts or other of our old cathedrals." This is, as will be seen, exactly what Walpole did at Strawberry Hill. His enthusiasm for the Middle Ages comes out in his letters even earlier than his change of plans at Strawberry Hill. The first reference to the "charming, venerable Gothic" is in fact in a letter of August 25, 1748.

Charming is a curious term to be applied to Gothic art; but other passages from later letters about his own house and medieval and sham medieval buildings which he saw on his journeys confirm that it expresses Walpole's reaction to the Gothic style. Gothic as well as Chinese buildings give the English country scene, he writes, "a whimsical air of novelty" (August 2, 1750), Warwick Castle is "enchanting" (July 22, 1751), the medieval bridge at Rochester "pretty" (August 5, 1752), a new little Gothic house near Bayham Abbey "neat" (August 5, 1752), the recently built chapel at Wroxton "in a pretty Gothic taste" (August 4, 1753), Oxford "a charming venerable Gothic scene" (September, 1753), and even Worcester Cathedral "pretty" (September, 1753).

If this was how old and new Gothic impressed Walpole, should we not try to look at his Strawberry Hill in the same spirit? It may not be easy for us to do so; for it means forgetting what we have learnt from Fonthill and Sir Walter Scott. But the Strawberry Hill staircase, excellently preserved, thank Heavens, under the care of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Training College—now the tenants of house and grounds—is surely, in spite of Walpole's own assertion that it and the whole house "inspired . . . the Castle of Otranto" (March 9, 1765), not at all romantic in the sense first conceived by Goethe and finally popularized by Scott. If you look at it unbiased, you cannot help seeing it with Walpole's eyes: "so pretty and so small that I am inclined to wrap it up and send it . . . in my letter (March 4, 1753). In other letters he speaks of the wallpaper "painted in perspective to represent . . . Gothic fretwork (June 12, 1753), of "the lightest Gothic balustrade to the staircase" (*ib.*), and of "lean windows fattened with rich saints" (*ib.*). Moreover, he contrasted "the gloomth of abbeys and cathedrals" aimed at inside the house with the garden outside that should be "riant" as any (April 27, 1753). Needless to add that the general irregularity of the plan of Strawberry Hill is not the outcome either of a dogmatic medieval truthfulness, as Pugin conceived nearly a hundred years later. To Walpole (and not only to THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW) it is *Sharawaggi*. In an

important letter to Horace Mann of February 25, 1750, he compares Gothic and Grecian and says: "The Grecian is only proper for magnificent and public buildings. Columns and all their beautiful ornaments look ridiculous when crowded into a closet or a cheese-cake house. The variety is little, and admits no charming irregularities. I am almost as fond of the Sharawaggi, or Chinese want of symmetry, in buildings, as in grounds or gardens."

And so Horace Walpole set to work. The stages of the building history of Strawberry Hill have been carefully recorded by Mr. Lewis and can be followed in the plans on this page. As far as the aesthetic quality of the work is concerned, it cannot really be due to Walpole, who was not an artist. Mr. Lewis is of the opinion that John Chute of The Vyne, Hampshire, Walpole's older friend and, it seems, the head of the "Committee,"\* was the creative artist behind. Against this view it must be said that nothing more sparkingly Rococo exists in the *corpus* of Strawberry drawings than Richard Bentley's sketches and designs, both accepted and rejected.

Richard Bentley was nine years older than Walpole. His father was the formidable Master of Trinity. The son had nothing of the father's strength of purpose, nothing of his energy and pigheadedness. He appears in the correspondence as weak, always in love with somebody or something and always short of money. In 1752 he had to leave England and withdraw to Jersey to evade his creditors. Walpole's first letters to him are amongst the best this virtuoso of letter-writing ever sent off. Bentley's wit must have stimulated Walpole as much as his "picturesque" drawings. But Bentley was dilatory and unreliable, and Walpole could be exasperatingly sententious and schoolma'mish. The friendship came to an end in 1761.

Thus the eight drawings here illustrated all date from between 1751 and 1761. Any necessary comments will be found in the captions. To conclude this introduction it only remains to sum up wherein lies the historical significance of Strawberry Hill, if it is not the foundation building of the Gothic Revival. The answer is easily given.

Walpole's villa stands at the beginning of the Neo-Gothic fashion in European *domestic* architecture. Before Walpole backed the style it had only had a vogue in interior and exterior furnishing. Now picturesquely medievalizing Sharawaggi became possible for a whole house in its grounds. That this picturesque Sharawaggi has a strong Rococo flavour has been said before. The flavour is all-pervading in Bentley's drawings, and predominant also in some of the rooms not designed by Bentley, especially the Gallery. But it is not possible to appreciate Walpole's against Bentley's Strawberry Hill under the aspect of Rococo exclusively. There is another side to Walpole's interest in medieval styles, one not apparent from the letters quoted so far. He took, as is well known, considerable trouble to make his Gothic correct. He insisted on accurate copying of details from tombs or decorative motifs in cathedrals. That a rood screen in the end served for bookeases, an archbishop's tomb for a fireplace, and details from another for a wallpaper, shows, it is true, how far his antiquarianism still was from that of Scott, Street or Pearson, and his sense of truth in art from that of Pugin, Ruskin and Morris. This lightheartedness may place Walpole's efforts at archaeology unmistakably into the Rococo, but the desire for a limited archaeological exactitude remains, and it is quite possible that Walpole in his heart of hearts (if he had such a thing) felt much more strongly about it than he cared to admit in his letters. In his description of Gothic architecture as "venerable barbarism" (April 27, 1758) there seems to transpire through all his irony a touch of an almost Rousseau-like nostalgia for "simplicity and truth"—the very qualities which, strangely enough, he attributed to Bentley's art (August 4, 1755). "I amuse myself," he told Horace Mann (October 6, 1758) "with Gothic and painted glass, and am as grave about my own trifles as I could be at Ratisbon" (where at the time peace treaties were negotiated).

However, Bentley was not grave about anything at Strawberry Hill, and that is the reason why limitation to his drawings will repay, where the intention is to emphasize the Rococo character of the earliest Gothic Revival.

\* The term appears for the first time in a letter of July 9, 1754.

#### KEY TO PLAN AND HISTORY OF STRAWBERRY HILL

##### GROUND FLOOR

- B Waiting Room (without bay), completed 1748
- C China Closet (original kitchen removed from this location), completed 1748
- D Little Parlour, completed 1753
- E Yellow Bedchamber (afterwards the Beauty Room), completed 1758
- F Hall and Staircase, completed 1753
- A Great Parlour, or Rejactory, completed 1754
- C China Closet remodelled, completed 1755
- G Pantry, completed 1759
- Little Cloister (adjacent to G), completed 1759
- Round Tower, completed 1761
- K Great Cloister, completed 1761?
- N Kitchen, completed 1761?
- O Oratory, completed 1761?
- B Waiting Room remodelled, 1761? Bay added to Waiting Room, 1761?

##### PRINCIPAL FLOOR

- Q Green Closet (not Gothic at this time), completed 1748
- P Breakfast Room (not Gothic at this time), completed 1748

- N Red Bedchamber, completed 1753
- H Armoury, completed 1753
- Q Green Closet remodelled, completed 1753
- M Star Chamber, completed 1758?
- O Blue Bedchamber, completed 1754
- F Library, completed 1754
- E Holbein Room, completed 1759
- Round Tower (no rooms finished at this time) 1761

- D Gallery, completed 1763
- B Cabinet (Chapel, Tribune), completed 1763
- P Breakfast Room altered 1766

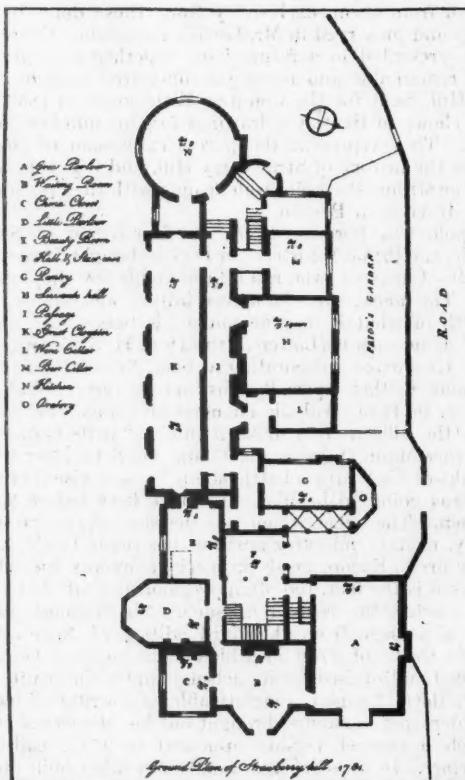
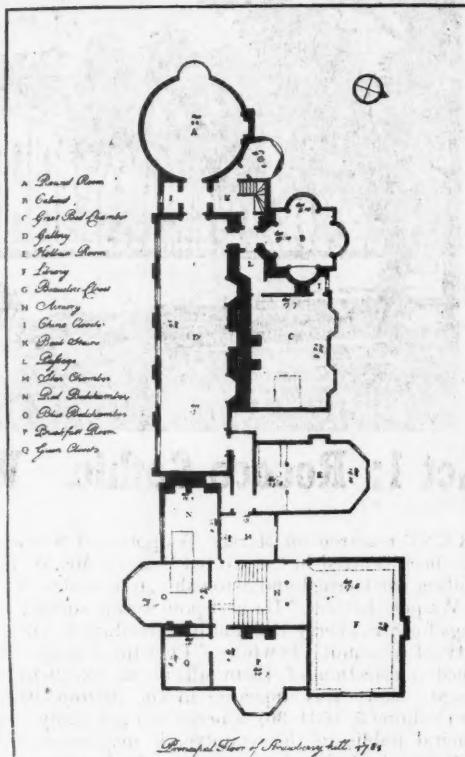
- A Round Room (Round Drawing Room), completed 1771

- C Great North Bedchamber (State Bedchamber), completed 1772

- G Beauchere Tower, completed 1776

##### SECOND FLOOR

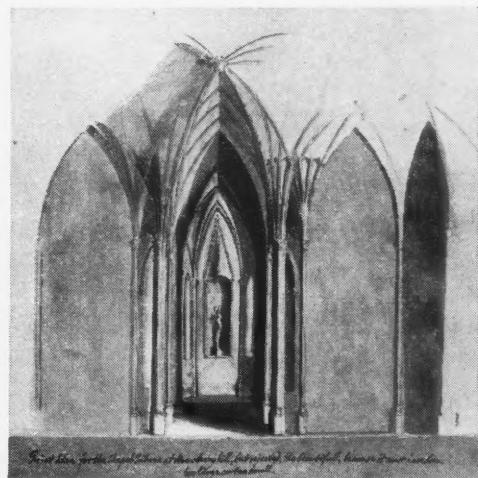
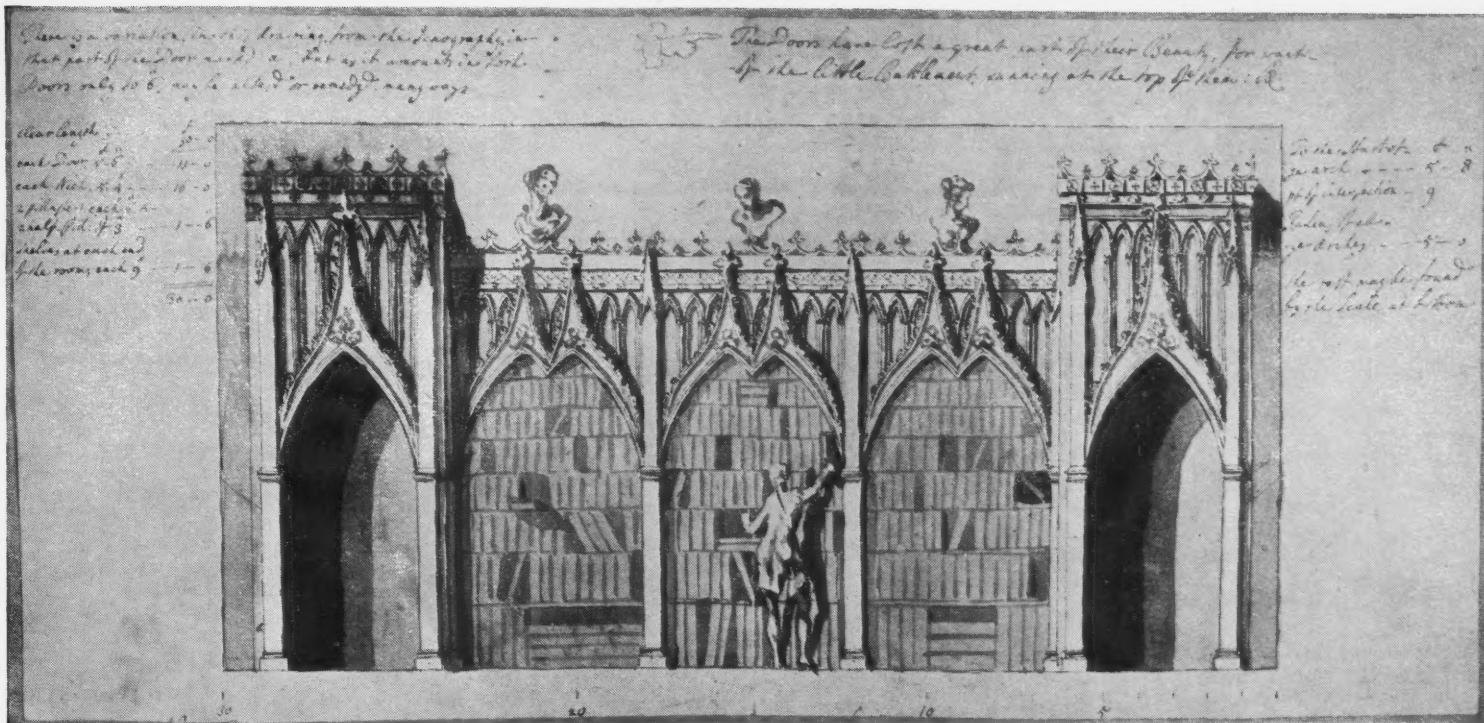
- Walpole's Bedchamber, completed 1755
- Plaid Bedchamber, completed 1755
- Round Bedchamber (originally called Green Bedchamber; afterwards a library for prints and drawings), completed 1771



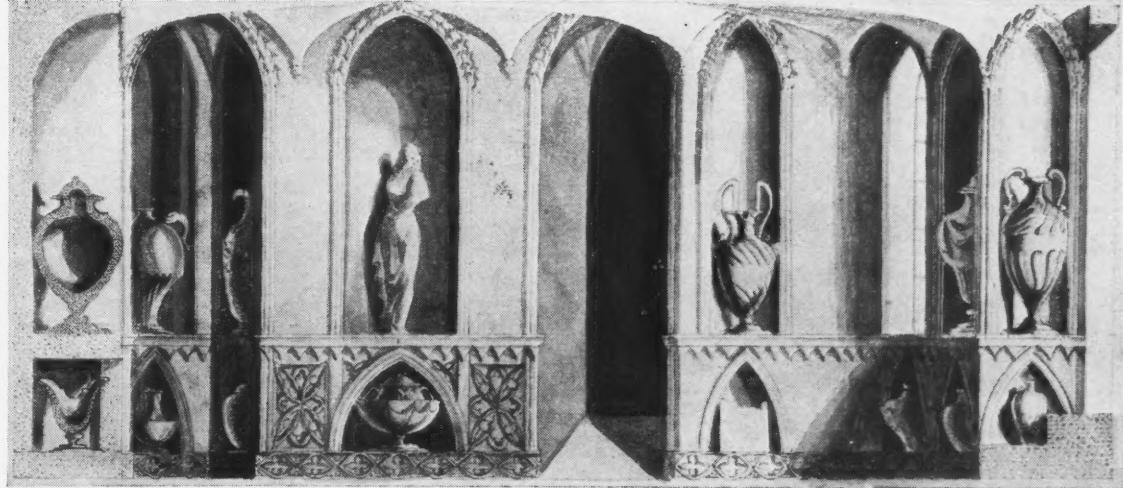


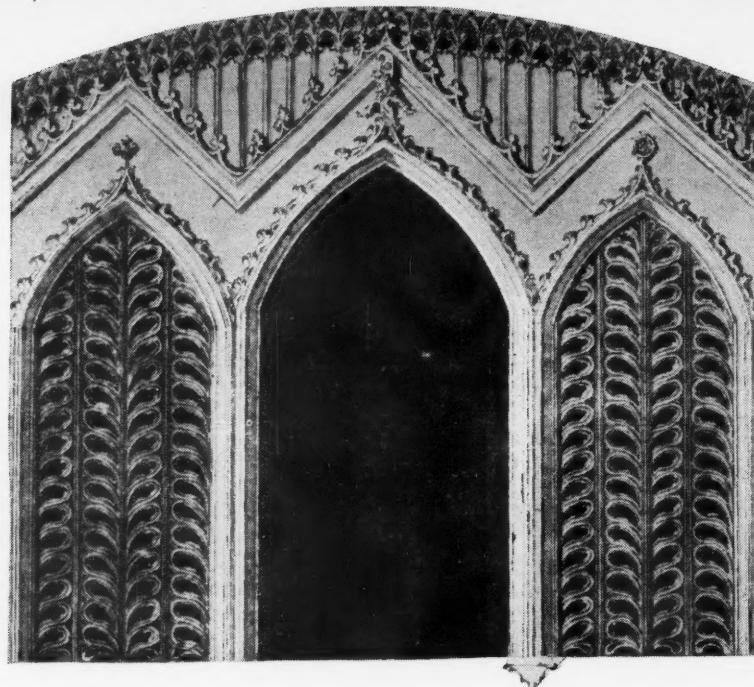


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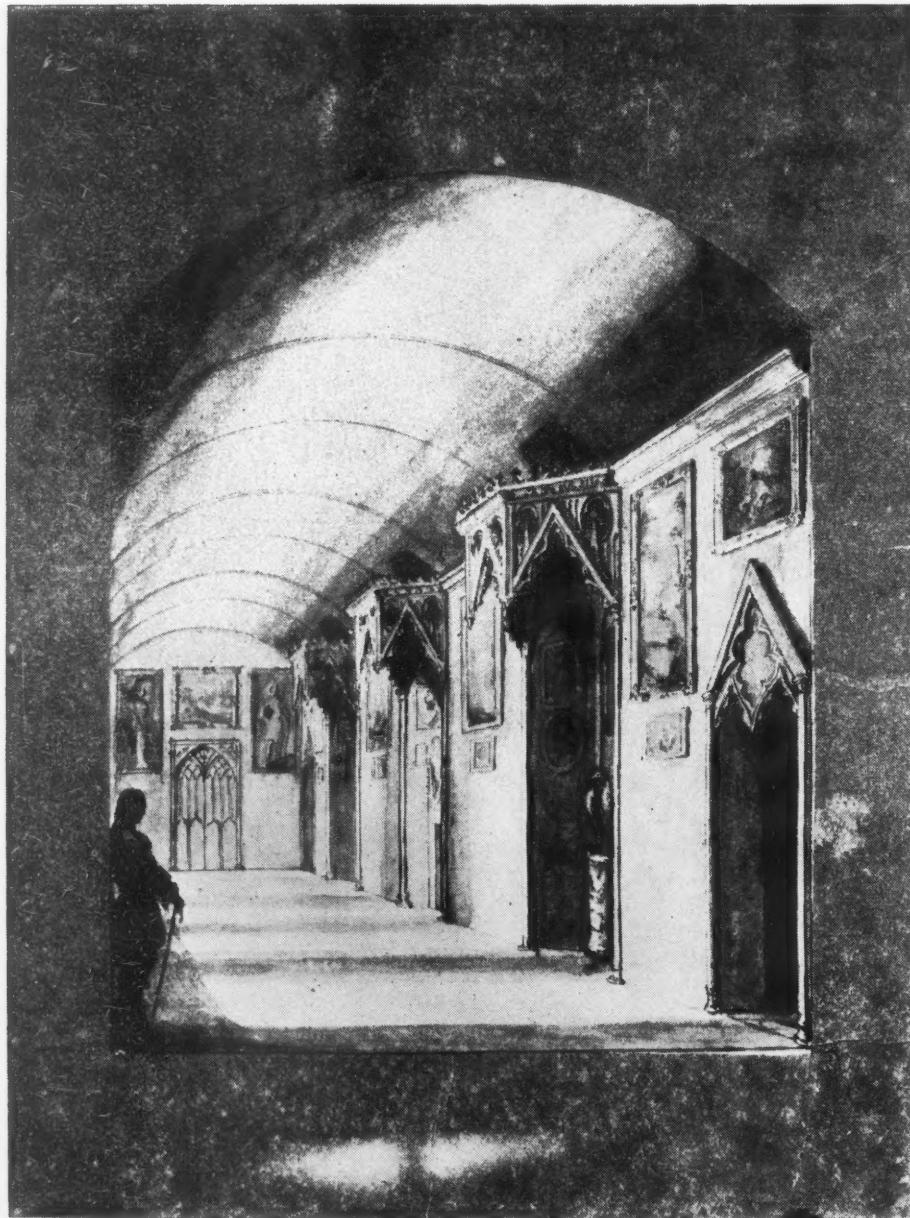


Top: Bentley's water colour sketch for the Library, with notes in his hand. It did not, as Walpole wrote on December 19, 1753, receive "the Strawberry imprimatur." Walpole objected to the double pinnacles as ungraceful, and found altogether Chute's competitive design (with bookcases copied from the side doors to the choir of old St. Paul's) more "conventional." Centre left: Bentley's design for the Chapel, "rejected tho' beautiful" as Walpole noted on it, "because it must have been too large or too small." What replaced Bentley's idea was neither so graceful nor so extreme in proportion. Bentley was luckier with his ideas for Gothic furniture, centre right. The inscription is in Walpole's hand. Bottom: the projected Columbarium — never carried out. Walpole thought of a "Gothic columbarium" for Strawberry as early as November 20, 1757. In the end he succeeded at least in having one built in at Syon House.

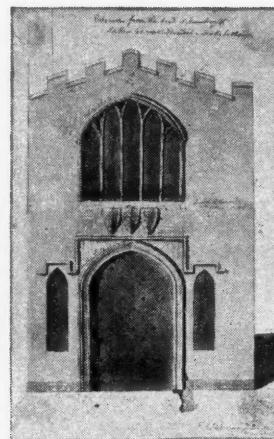




*Screen in the Holbein chamber  
at Strawberryhill.*



*Sketch of the Gallery at Strawberryhill.*



Top: the Screen in the Holbein Chamber—which can still be admired in situ. It dates from 1759. This is Bentley at his best. His sketch for the Gallery does not appear so successful. The fan-vaulted and mirrored design which replaced it in 1763 seems to be by the young Thomas Pitt, Chatham's nephew and afterwards Lord Camelford. The exterior drawing is for the north entrance, and was executed with only minor adjustments. It dates from 1753.



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## Act 2: Romantic Gothic. Scene 1: Goethe and Strassburg

To Horace Walpole when he started at Strawberry Hill, Gothic had been an untried Rococo entertainment. At the same time in France the Abbé Laugier in his *Observations sur l'Architecture*, of 1765, called it "piquant, charmant, délicieux." It is not easy for us to appreciate this reaction to, say, Westminster Abbey or Notre Dame in Paris. The Romantic Movement has changed our feeling about Gothic buildings from its very foundation. Awe and reverence have taken the place of Walpole's amusement. We can see this change come in the poetry of Gray, Blair and the Wartons. It did not influence architectural form in Britain, however, until Beckford conceived Fonthill. That was in the nineties. On the Continent more than twenty years earlier Goethe had discovered the romantic qualities of Gothic design and paraphrased them, with rapt enthusiasm. His pean to the presumed architect of Strassburg Cathedral is the first European document of the new, romantic attitude towards the Gothic style.

Goethe to those English people who have read him at all is the Sage of Weimar, the philosopher to whose words of wisdom Carlyle listened. Very few know him in his youth, the greatest of the revolutionaries of *Sturm und Drang*, or *Storm and Stress* as the name of the movement has been inadequately translated. His conversion to *Sturm und Drang* belongs to his student years at Strassburg, where he arrived in the spring of 1770, not yet of age. He left in August, 1771. Strassburg at that time had been French for less than a hundred years, and town and country were still German in character. Three events changed Goethe's life during these fifteen months, his love for Friderike Brion, a parson's daughter in a village nearby, his meeting with Herder, and the revelation of Strassburg Cathedral. (On Goethe at Strassburg see the selections from his autobiography, edited by G. Craig Houghton, Blackwell's German Texts, 1944.) Friderike Brion was a simple, friendly and candid child of nature. Goethe's love was not unconsciously a Rousseau or Oliver Goldsmith experience. But what Goethe called years later "the most significant event" of the year, and one "that was to have the most important consequences" was his communion of ideas with Herder.

Herder was five years older than Goethe. By the time Goethe met him he had in his drawer for his young friend to see plenty of recently written literary, philosophical and philological criticism and plenty of translations of folk songs and ballads. His philosophy was still youthfully unsettled, but it had already a distinct and most impressive form. Amongst the chief tributary forces to Herder's philosophy only one is German: the scurrilous writings of Hamann, "the Magus of the North," writings full of brio and enthusiasm. Hamann—in many ways the German parallel of Rousseau, though in his mixture of obscure mysticism with sudden violent flashes of genius eminently German—was born in 1730. His most important writings came out between 1759 and 1762. In 1757 he had visited England. Herder knew France but not England, although an ardent wish to see Shakespeare's country had always "lived in his soul." (Herder's *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Suphan, Vol. 5, p. 167.) The outcome of his journey to France in 1769 had been growing dislike and growing insight into the reasons of his dislike. France to him was the country of rationalism, of rules and systems, of artificiality and sophistry. England on the other hand meant to Hamann "genius and liberty" (*Essais à la Mosaique*) and to Herder (and soon to Goethe) "reality and freedom" (Herder, Vol. 4, p. 363). They were all able to read English, but there also existed plenty of translations, far more and far earlier ones than most of us realise. Shaftesbury's *Soliloquy*, for instance, had been translated in 1738, his *Moralists* in 1745, his *Characteristics* in 1753 and again in 1768, and his *Collected Works* in 1776-79. Herder reviewed a German edition of Ossian published in 1768. Young's *Night Thoughts* of 1742-45 appeared in German in 1751, his *Conjectures on Original Composition* of 1759 already in 1760.



Now Shaftesbury, Ossian, Young all stood for "genius and liberty" (as did the English or landscape garden, the first example of which on German soil was begun at Wörlitz near Dessau in 1764). But if Herder speaks of "reality and freedom," what did he mean? On the one hand he knew Locke, Hutcheson, Hume, Hartley, Lord Kames and Gerard, and we find him for instance comment thus on Lord Kames: "Home provides a forest of experiences, notes and events in the soul; but it remains, according to his intention a forest. . . . This book is not a system" (Vol. 4, p. 150). Similarly he says of Gerard: "One of the foremost, if not in depth, in a prolific, manifold philosophy, rich in examples" (Vol. 4, p. 153). This then is Herder's "reality," and to be real, became one of his two principal aims: "factual, not word-wise," as he called it in the Journal of his Voyage of 1769 (Vol. 4, p. 847). His other aim is force, force of expression in his own work, and force in those works of others which he recommended. In fact the *Sturm und Drang* movement was to be an alliance of realism and violence. Thus Herder reviewed with approval Gerstenberg's *Ugolino*, the first *Sturm und Drang* play (1768). Thus he pleaded with passion the elemental beauties of primitive poetry. "The more savage, that is the more alive, the freer a nation is, the more savage, that is the more alive, the

freer, the more sensual and lyrically active must its songs be. The further away from artificial, academic manners of thought, language and letters a nation stands, the less will its songs be made for paper and dead letter" (Vol. 5, p. 164). And in making this statement Herder refers explicitly to Ossian as well as to the savages of North America (Vol. 5, p. 166).

In only one author did Herder find his ideal union of realism and freedom fully achieved, in Shakespeare. And so he wrote that dithyrambic essay on Shakespeare which Goethe saw grow in his mind and which came out in 1773 in a miscellany edited by Herder and called *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst*, the same miscellany in which Goethe's dithyrambic essay on Strassburg was published.

Herder's thesis is that Shakespeare is as great as Sophocles, just because he is so completely different from Sophocles. The two ages and the two nations had to produce opposed genius or else they would not have been true to their opposed characters: "In Greece drama originated, as it could not originate in the North. In Greece it was what it cannot be in the North . . . Sophocles's plays and Shakespeare's plays are two things which in some way have nothing in common but the name. . . . If (Sophocles) represents, teaches, moves and forms the Greek, Shakespeare teaches, moves and forms men of the North . . . Sophocles remained faithful to nature when he worked out One action in One place and One time; Shakespeare could remain faithful to her only by rolling his historic events and human destinies through all places and all times, where they—well, where they happen." (Vol. 5, pp. 210, 219, 226.)

Goethe's essay is essentially a translation of Herder's *Shakespeare* into terms of medieval architecture. For as far as medieval architecture is concerned, Herder had not seen the implications of his own growing philosophy. In 1769 he wrote this of architecture: "Architecture is only embellished mechanical art" (Vol. 4, p. 123). "The first impression it gives" is of "sublime greatness, exact regularity and noble order" (p. 124). We admire, he says, how the art of building developed "from the simplicity of the column to the richest variety of its parts, its whole, its orders; then from the symmetry of two columns to its arch and from there to the whole image of the palace" (Vol. 4, p. 155). This is obviously conceived with a view to classical, not to medieval buildings and Gothic is indeed to Herder still a synonym of abstruse (Vol. 5, p. 206). "Our present musicality in poetry—what a Gothic edifice! How the masses fall apart! Where is coherence, transition . . . where a subtle centre . . . ?"

Goethe's essay was written for two distinct reasons, one emotional, the other intellectual: to tell of his conversion to the beauty and vitality of medieval building and to criticise and

confute Laugier.

Marc Antoine Laugier (1718-69) was one of the many French eighteenth century amateur writers on aesthetics. His two main books are the *Essai sur l'Architecture* of 1753 (considerably enlarged second edition 1755) and the *Observations sur l'Architecture* of 1765. Goethe was chiefly concerned with the first of which a German translation had come out in 1768 (and English ones in 1755 and 1786). To us this polemical side of Goethe's essay may seem remote, to his readers it was of close topical interest. Laugier, although Goethe tries to paint him as a reactionary, was nothing of the sort. He was a timid innovator, maybe, but he was an innovator; and if Goethe by 1770 had read anything that could lead to a juster appreciation of the Gothic style, it can only have been Laugier, who certainly saw the qualities of medieval cathedrals more clearly than Herder. An example will be given later. It is unlikely that Goethe should have consciously suppressed a debt of gratitude to Laugier. What probably happened is that a pure Neo-Classical would not have arrested his attention at all. Just because the reading of Laugier's book stimulated him, its shortcomings incensed him all the more vehemently.

Laugier's style for instance is polished and colloquial, Goethe's is rugged and volcanic. The Strassburg essay is a masterpiece of revolutionary prose, written in that syncopic way which characterizes *Sturm und Drang* in Germany and has no parallel in contemporary England. In Germany the group of young writers and thinkers to which Goethe belonged broke with rationalism, in England the Grays and Youngs and Sternes tried to arrive at a compromise. There is only one of Goethe's generation in England who can be called *Sturm und Drang*: Fuseli, and he was Swiss and had as far back as 1763 and 1765 written odes in very much the style of Herder and Goethe. How highly Fuseli was appreciated, appears from a letter of J. G. Zimmermann addressed from Rome to Herder in 1775, when Fuseli was in Rome. It says: "Fuseli in Rome is the boldest thought-thrower I know. I have seen odes of his—that is a tone to my heart's delight. But it is only for few in a million to speak in this tone, for Fuseli, for you, for Lavater and Goethe."

So to give a true English representation of Goethe's style in his essay on Strassburg, Fuseli's style was the nearest contemporary parallel. Mr. Geoffrey Grigson seems indeed to have had in his mind in his translation. Mr. Grigson has established himself as one of the most sensitive translators of German poetry by his versions of some late Hölderlin and some Rilke (*Under the Cliff*, 1948). The present translation was done in collaboration with Mr. Pevsner, who also provided the marginal commentary.

## Of German Architecture

D. V. Ervinia Steinbach

I WANDERED round thy grave, noble Erwin, and searched for thy tombstone, to have revealed to me "Anno domini 1318 XVI Kal. Febr. obiit Magister Ervinus, Gubernator Fabricae Ecclesiae Argentinensis." (1) And I could not find it, and none of thy countrymen could show it me, that my veneration might be poured out at the holy place; and I was deeply sad in my soul; and my heart, younger, warmer, more innocent, better than now, vowed thee a memorial so soon as I attained the quiet enjoyment of my possessions—of marble or of sandstone as I might afford.

Yet why needst memorial! Thou hast set up to thyself one most glorious. And if the ants crawl round and care not for thy name, thou sharest the destiny of that architect who piled mountains into the clouds.

It has been granted to few to create a Babel-thought within their souls, whole and great, and by necessity beautiful to the smallest part, like the trees of God. To fewer it has been granted to meet a thousand proffered hands to carve out the rock-ground, to charm steep cliffs thereon, and then dying, to say to their sons "I abide with you in the works of my spirit: complete to the clouds that which is begun."

Why needst memorial! And from me! It is superstition or blasphemy, when the rabble pronounces sacred names. Before thy colossus, the weak mannikins of taste reel giddily, and spirits that are whole will know thee without interpreter. Only, O excellent man, thus, before I venture my patched-up skiff back upon the Ocean, more likely toward death than prize—behold: here in this sacred copse, where all around the names of my beloved are in leaf, I cut thine into a beech-tree rising slenderly like thy spire, and hang up by its four corners this handkerchief with gifts—not unlike that cloth which was let down from the clouds to the holy apostle, full of clean and unclean beasts: so also full of plants, blossoms, leaves, and maybe dry grass and moss and night-grown toadstools—all that I have collected on a walk through insignificant regions, coldly botanising for my pastime—I dedicate in thy honour to decay.

In a small taste, says the Italian, and goes by. (2) Childish things, babbles

1 Erwin of Steinbach was in fact not the creator of the plan of Gothic Strassburg Cathedral. He was the third master, coming after two Rudolfs who were probably responsible for the nave of 1250-1275, and the original design of the west porch begun in a purely French style in 1276. This design survives in a drawing, known as A, together with another, B, which may be Erwin's, and which was used for the actual building of the ground floor. Everything above this belongs to a later date, especially the crowning glory of Strassburg, the tower and spire, which is German Late Gothic of the most fantastic and intricate kind. It dates from 1400-1439. The masters are Ulrich of Ensingen, and Johann Hiltz. To Goethe the whole front—he says nothing at all of the interior—is one and Erwin's. His eyes were not trained enough to see the patent differences of style and date between portals and tower.

2 The "small taste" goes indeed back to Italian art theory, although the grand manner was only made a fetish by the French from Poussin onwards.

3 "A la Grecque" was still the latest fashion when Goethe was at Strassburg. Baron Grimm wrote in a letter from Paris in 1763: "Tout se fait aujourd'hui à la Grecque." The first volume of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* had come out in 1762, and Herder chastised in the first of his *Kritisches Wälder* the Graeculi "who in accordance with the fashion of the day talk of nothing but the beauties of the Greeks" (1769). Laugier was one of the Graeculi. In the Introduction to his *Essai* (2nd Edition, 1755, p. 3) he says: "Architecture owes what it possesses of perfection to the Greeks."

4 Goethe believed in the Genius of the Ancients. His intention is not to substitute Gothicism for Classicism. Winckelmann's writings on the Greeks had just come out, the *Reflections on the Imitation* in 1755 (English translation by Fuseli, 1765), the *History of Ancient*

Art in 1769, and Goethe recognized that Winckelmann extolled the Greeks for the very same spontaneity which inspired medieval masons. The Greeks and Erwin stand together, Goethe felt, against imitators and antiquarians, just as the Greeks and Shakespeare stand together for Young and Herder. A whole spate of archaeological publications of antique sites appeared just then: Wood on Palmyra 1753, Wood on Balbek 1757, Le Roi on Greece 1758, Stuart and Revett on Athens 1762, Adam on Spalato 1768. That Stuart really built "summer houses" in Greek forms is familiar enough now, but Goethe cannot have known it. What can he have thought of? Knobelsdorff designed artificial Roman ruins for Potsdam in 1748. Another ruin was in the Johann Georg Gardens at Dresden, designed about 1765. Goethe visited Dresden while studying at Leipzig from 1765 to 1768. Of engravings of gardens and garden furnishings there were of course plenty about.

the Frenchman after him; and clicks open his snuff-box à la Grecque, in triumph. (3)

What have ye done, that ye dare despise! Has not the Genius of the Ancients, rising from its tomb, chained thine, O Latin foreigner! Creeper in the mighty fragments to cadge proportions, cobbler of summer houses out of the holy wreckage, looking upon thyself as guardian of the mysteries of Art because thou canst account, to inch and to fraction, for gigantic buildings! (4) Hadst thou but felt, more than measured (5)—had the spirit of the masses thou gapest at come upon thee, then hadst thou not imitated only because they did it and it is beautiful. Then by necessity and truth hadst thou created thy designs, and living beauty might plastically have welled from them. (6)

So upon thy wants thou hast whited a show of truth and beauty. The splendour of the effect of columns struck thee; thou, too, didst want to use them, didst wall them in (7); thou, too, didst want colonnades, and didst circle the forecourt of St. Peter's with marble walks, which lead nowhere from nowhere; so that Mother Nature, who despises the improper and unnecessary, drove thy rabble to prostitute this splendour to public cloacae, so that men turn away their eyes and hold their noses before the Wonder of the World. (8)

This is the way things wag: the artist's whim serves the rich man's wilfulness: the topographer gapes, and our dilettanti, called philosophers, lathe out of protoplastic fables rules and history of the fine arts down to now, and true men are murdered by the evil Genius in the forecourt of the mysteries.

Rules, more than examples, harm the man of genius. (9) Before his day, a few people may have worked out a few parts. He is the first, from whose soul emerge the parts grown together into one eternal whole. But school and rule fetter all power of perceiving and acting. What does it profit us, O neo-French philosophising connoisseurs, that the first man who sensed his needs, rammed in four tree-trunks, joined up four poles on top, and topped all with branches and moss? From that thou dost decide what is proper for our needs to-day (10), as if thy new Babylon were to be ruled by thee with innocent patriarchal fatherliness.

And it is, moreover, wrong, that thy hut is the world's first-born. Two poles crossed at the top at the one end, two at the other, and one pole across, as a ridge, and that indeed, as thou canst see every day in the huts of field and vineyard, is an invention much more primeval, from which thou canst not even deduct thy pig stytes' rule.

So not one of thy conclusions can soar into the region of truth: all float in thy system's atmosphere. Thou wouldst teach us that which we should need, because by thy principles that which we do need cannot be justified.

The column thou hast close to thy heart; and in another region of the world wouldst be a prophet. Thou sayest: the column is the first essential component of the building, and the most beautiful. What sublime elegance of form, what pure manifold greatness, when they stand there in rows! But take care not to use them with impropriety. Their nature is, to stand detached. And woe to the wretches who have riveted their slender shoots to lumpish walls!

And yet, my dear Abbé, it seems to me, that repeating often this impropriety of walling columns in, which made the moderns stuff masonry even into the intercolumnia of ancient temples—that this might have roused some thought in thee. If thine ear were not deaf to truth, those stones might yet have sermonised it to thee.

Column in no manner is a component of our dwellings. Rather, it speaks against the essence of all our building. Our houses do not arise out of four columns in four corners; but from four walls and four sides, which are there instead of all columns, exclude all columns, and where men stick them on, they are a burdening superfluity. The very same holds true of our palaces and our churches, a few excepted, which I need not heed.

Your buildings thus describe planes, and the more widely they stretch, the more boldly they rise to heaven, the more unendurably must their uniformity press upon the soul. Ah, but the genius came to our help! That genius which ministered thus to Erwin of Steinbach, saying "Make variform the vast wall, which thou must carry heavenwards, so that it rises like a most sublime, wide-arching Tree of God, who, with a thousand of boughs, a million of twigs, and

5 Young: "Rules like crutches, are a needful aid to the lame, though an impediment to the strong" (*Original Composition*). Hamann: "He who does not risk exceptions, cannot provide a masterpiece." (*Leser und Kunstrichter*, 1762.) Young: "Who knows if Shakespeare might not have thought less, if he had read more." Hamann: "What replaces in Homer ignorance of those rules which an Aristotle worked out from him, and what in Shakespeare ignorance and violation of these critical laws? Genius is the unanimous answer." (*Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1759.)

6 "Plastically"—it is "bildend" in German. The fine arts in German art "die bildende Kunst." There is an emphasis on the shaping in this term which plastic in English does not quite imply. However, Goethe originally had his sense of nature as a shaping, modelling force from the English—it seems, from Cudworth via Shaftesbury. Cudworth's *True Intellectual System of the Universe*, published in 1678, came out in Latin at Jena in 1733, and was admired by Gottsched and one, Bencker, whose writings Goethe knew (see H. Sendheimer: *Der Geniebegriff des jungen Goethe*, 1935, p. 75). Cudworth speaks of "plastick nature."

7 It is curious to see that in their aversion against pilasters or demi-columns—for that is what Goethe means by walled-in columns—he is at one with Laugier. The column, Laugier writes, "must be isolated" (ib., p. 13). However, Laugier, man of the world that he is, adds that pilasters and attached columns are "a licence authorised by our needs"—and this must have been what infuriated Goethe.

8 Goethe's argument is Nature. Nature to him means what we would call the Functional. In this again he followed Herder, Young and Shaftesbury. But Laugier also argues on the strength of the Natural: "Let us keep to the simple and natural; it is the only way to the beautiful" (ib., p. 22). "What is against nature, can be curious; but it will never be beautiful" (ib., p. 48). However, a review of the specious ways in which eighteenth and nineteenth century critics have used nature to further their own aims would fill a bulky book. What difference between Shaftesbury's and Reynolds's and Wordsworth's nature, Herder's and Goethe's special *bête noire* was Batteux's *belle nature*, i.e., nature improved by taste. Reynolds in his *Discourses* followed Batteux, who published his system in 1747. Herder attacked it violently in 1772 à propos the third edition of a German translation.

9 Young: "An original... rises spontaneously from the vital root of genius; it grows; it is not made." Hamann: "Whosoever tries to deprive the fine arts of arbitrariness and fancy, lays snare to its honour and its life as a murderer." (*Leser und Kunstrichter*.) Herder: "The spreading of learning can but thwart art—just as poetics poetry." (*Abhandlung über die Ode*.) By 1770 nobody was reactionary or rationalist enough to deny that genius is needed for an artist in addition to rules. Thus Reynolds admitted genius in his *Sixth Discourse* (1774), although grudgingly, and hastened to add in the *Seventh Discourse* some biting remarks on the "inflated language" of those who speak of genius and inspiration. That was obviously meant against Young. How Reynolds would have hated Goethe's Essay! Or would the painter of *Ugolino* have succeeded in suppressing the reasoned reactions of the P.R.A.? Dr. Johnson was immune against romantic attacks. His early sneers against inspiration as "the mental disease of the present generation" (*Rambler*, 1751) were never seriously revised.

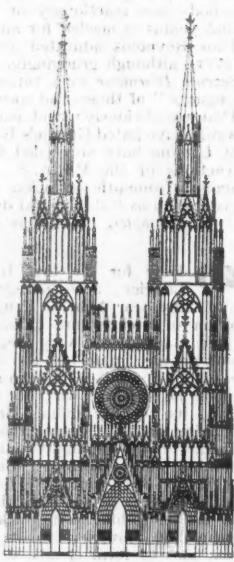
10 Here for the first time Goethe openly attacks Laugier; a few paragraphs further he will address him "my dear Abbé." Laugier had written this on the origin of architecture (*Essai*, pp. 8-10): "Let us consider man at his very beginning, without any help, without any guide but the instinctive knowledge of his needs. He wants a place to rest. By the side of a quiet brook he sees a lawn; its sprouting green pleases his eyes, its tender fluffiness invites him. He goes, and relaxing stretches out on that emerald carpet. He only dreams of enjoying in peace the gifts of nature; he misses nothing, desires nothing. But soon the heat of the sun begins to scorch him; he is forced to look for shelter. He notices a grove which offers him the freshness of its shade; he hastens to hide in its thickets, and is again contented. Meanwhile, however, steam has risen here and there, combines to form clouds, denser and denser clouds fill the air and torrential rain pours down on the delicious grove. Man, badly covered under the leaves, knows no longer how to defend himself against the unpleasant dampness which penetrates from all sides. He sees a cave, glides in and finding himself in the dry enjoys his discovery. But again disadvantages disgust him. He is in darkness, breathes an unwholesome air and so leaves the cave, determined to make up by his own industry for the thoughtlessness and negligence of nature. Man wants to provide for himself a lodging which covers him without burying him. Some knocked-off branches in the wood are the material for carrying out his plan. He chooses four of the strongest and puts them up vertically at the corners of a square. Above he puts four more across, and on that four at an angle so that they meet in a point on two sides. This roof is covered by leaves closely enough to exclude sun and rain—and so man has his lodging....

leafage like the sands of the sea, tells forth to the neighbourhood the glory of the Lord, his master."

This is the march of simple nature; architecture owes its birth to the imitation of this procedure. The little rustic hut which I have described is the model on which all magnificence of architecture has been thought out. By keeping close to the simplicity of this first model, architects avoid the most fundamental mistakes and get hold of true perfection. The vertical pieces of wood have given us the idea of columns, the horizontal pieces on top that of entablatures, and those at an angle forming the roof that of the gables. Column, entablature, gable—nothing else has been recognised by the masters of the art of architecture."

11 It is well enough known that the eighteenth century still used the term Gothic as a synonym of Barbaric, Crude, Freakish. Just two less familiar examples: J. F. Blondel in his *Architecture Française*, vol. 2, 1754, warns architects against any "dérèglement" which might lead architecture back "dans l'état où nous l'avons vu du temps des Goths." And Shenstone in his *Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening*, published posthumously in 1764, p. 102, foresees "night, Gothicism, confusion, and absolute chaos," if nature and art are not kept carefully distinct.

12 Laugier speaks of the "shapeless, grotesque, excessive" taste of the Middle Ages and the "ridicules colifichets du Gothique," but he adds: "Let us tell the truth, (Gothic) architecture with all its numberless blemishes, has a boldness of design, a delicacy of carving, a majesty and freedom" rarely reached in contemporary work. (*Essai*, p. 4.) This is especially true of churches. Those of the Middle Ages are what France has "du plus passable" (ib., 173). It is worth noting that in this connection Laugier explicitly praises the spire of Strassburg Cathedral. "Nothing," he writes, "is comparable to the spire of Strassburg Cathedral. This superb pyramid is a ravishing masterpiece in its prodigious height, its exact tapering towards the top, its agreeable form, the rightness of its proportions, the unique delicacy of its detail. I do not believe that any architect has ever produced anything so boldly visualized, so happily thought out, so appropriately executed. There is more genius in that one piece than in all the most marvellous (church work) we see in other places" (ib., p. 201). Laugier's idea of the character of Gothic, it is true, was one of piquancy and bizarre variety (compare the passage quoted in the Introduction to this article). It is also true that Late Gothic fantasy appealed to him, and not Classic Gothic purity. All the same, Goethe might have found a kind word in his essay for this piece of Gothic defence, as new in its own way as Goethe's essay was in Germany. When Laugier wrote his *Observations* in 1765 he had changed his mind. He now praised the "grand gout" and magnificence of Notre Dame in Paris. He speaks of "un mélange, un mouvement, un tumulte," but deprecates the "colifichets tudesques" of fourteenth and fifteenth century decoration (p. 129, etc.).



13 Under 1 it has been mentioned that two original drawings of the cathedral porch survive, usually called A and B. Goethe knew them and regarded them as Erwin's. B, which is here reproduced, is more than 8 feet high.

14 It seems strange now that Goethe should have acclaimed the Gothic style as German *par excellence*. Yet it is not stranger than that Rickman should have spoken of Early English Gothic as against Classical was by all its romantic discoverers taken as a national style. Only about 1830 did the French prove with the sharpened tools of archaeology that theirs and nobody else's claim to the invention of Gothic was justified.

When for the first time I went towards the Minster, general notions of Taste filled my head. By hearsay, I honoured the harmony of the masses, the purity of the forms, was a sworn enemy of the tangled arbitrarinesses of Gothick ornament. Under the Gothick heading, I piled up, like the article in a dictionary, all the synonymous misunderstandings of the confused, the unregulated, the unnatural, the patched-up, the botched, the overladen, which had ever passed through my head. (11) Foolishly as a people, which calls all the foreign world barbaric, I named Gothick all that did not fit into my system, from the neatly-turned, gay-coloured cherub-dolls and painting our bourgeois nobility adorn their houses with, to the solemn remnants of older German Architecture, whose few fantastical frettings made me join in the universal song: "Quite squashed with ornament." (12) And so, as I walked towards the Minster, I shuddered in prospect of some malformed, curly-bristled ogre.

With what unlooked-for emotions did the sight surprise me, when I stepped before it! A sensation of wholeness, greatness, filled my soul; which, composed of a thousand harmonising details, I could savour and enjoy, yet by no means understand or explain. So it is, men say, with the bliss of Heaven. How often have I come back to enjoy this sacredly profane bliss, to enjoy the gigantic spirit of our elder brethren in their works. How often have I come back, to behold, from every side, from far and near, in every differing light, its dignity and glory. Heavy it is on the spirit of Man, when his brother's work is so sublimely reared, that he must only bend and worship. How often has the twilight, with its friendly stillness, refreshed my eye wearied with wide-eyed exploration, when it made the numberless parts melt into whole masses; and now, simple and great, these masses stood before my soul, and my power rapturously unfolded in enjoyment and understanding. Then was manifested in me, in faint divining, the genius of the great master mason. "Why art thou astonished?" he whispers toward me. "All these masses are there of necessity, and dost thou not see them in all the older churches of my town? Only I have raised their arbitrary proportions into harmony. How above the main porch, which lords over two smaller ones to either side, the wide rose-window opens, answering to the nave; and commonly but a hole for daylight, how, high above, the bell-loft asked for the smaller windows! All that was necessary; and I shaped it into beauty. But, ah, when I hover through the dark, sublime openings, which seem to gape there empty and vain! In their brave slender form have I hidden the mysterious forces which were to raise high into the air those two spires, of which, alas, only one now sadly stands, lacking the five-pinnacled crown I destined for it, so that the provinces about should do homage to it and its kingly brother." (13) And so he parted from me, and I sank down into a sadness of compassion, until the birds of morning, which haunt its thousand openings, made jubilee towards the sun, and roused me from my slumber. How freshly it sparkled in the morning-scented brilliance! How jocundly could I stretch out my arms towards it, open my eyes to the great harmonious masses, quickened into numberless small parts! As in works of eternal Nature, down to the minutest fibril, all is shape, all purposes to the whole. How the firm-grounded gigantic building lightly rears itself into the air! How filagree'd, all of it, and yet for eternity! To thy teaching, Genius, I owe it that I reel no longer at thy depths, that into my soul distils a drop of that blissful stillness of the spirit, which can look down upon its own creation, and, like God, can say that it is good!

And now shall I not rage, O holy Erwin, if the German learned in art listens to envious neighbours and misjudges his advantage over them, and misunderstanding the word Gothick, belittles thy work, when he should thank God he can announce loudly: This is German architecture, this is ours, when the Italian can boast none of his, and even less the Frenchman. (14)

And if thou wantest not to concede this advantage, then prove to us that the Goth already built like this—thou wilt have difficulty. And, beyond all, if thou canst not demonstrate that there went a Homer before Homer, willingly will we leave to thee the story of little efforts that succeed or fail, and tread in worship before the work of the master who first created from the scattered elements a living whole. (15) And thou, my dear brother in the spirit of seeking after truth and beauty, shut thine ears to all word-strutting about fine art, come, enjoy, open thine eyes. Beware. Desecrate not the name of thy most noble artist, and hurry, come close, and behold his glorious work. Be the impression on thee loathsome, or none, then fare thee well, harness up, and begone to Paris.

15 That the master of Strassburg was the first to make a living whole of Gothic motifs is of course quite incorrect. St. Denis, Chartres, Notre Dame, Rheims, Amiens, all preceded Strassburg by between 135 and 55 years.

But I join thee, dear youth, standing there moved, unable to blend the contradictions crossing in thy soul, feeling now the resistless might of the great unity, now scolding me for a dreamer who sees beauty where thou seest only strength and roughness. Let no misunderstanding divide us, be not girded for rough greatness by the soft doctrine of modern beauty-lisping, lest thy sick sentiment in the end can bear only with smooth littleness. They would make thee believe the fine arts have sprung from that bent presumed in us for beautifying all things around. *Untrue!* In that sense by which it might be true, the genteel and the artisan might use the words, but no philosopher. (16)

Art is plastic long before art re-fines; and yet is great true art, yes, greater and truer than the very fine. (17) For in man is a plastic nature, which at once, when his existence is secure, proves active. As soon as man has nothing to worry him or to make him fear, the demi-god gropes round for matter to breathe his spirit into, quickening in his own peace. And thus with fantastical strokes, with horrid shapes, high colours, the savage decorates his cocoa-shell, his feathers and his body. (18) Let the plastic art be composed of the most arbitrary forms, still it will cohere, without proportions of form; for One Feeling worked it into a characteristic whole. (19)

Now this characteristic art is the only true art. If, out of ardent, united, individual, independent feeling, it quickens, unconcerned, yea, unconscious, of all that is strange, then born whether of rough savageness or civilised sensibility, it is whole and living. Countless degrees of this may be seen among nations and individual men. The more the soul rises to the sense of those proportions which alone are beautiful and of Eternity, whose main chords can be proved, whose secrets only felt, in which alone the life of God-like genius wallows in blessed melodies; the more this beauty enters into the essence of a mind so that mind and beauty appear to have sprung forth together, so that nothing can satisfy them but each other; so that the mind can quicken nothing but out of beauty, the happier is the artist and the more glorious, the deeper do we bend and worship God's anointed.

And from the rung to which Erwin has mounted up none shall push him down. Here stands his work: step hither, and discern the deepest sense of truth and beauty of proportions, quickening out of strong, rough, German soul, out of the strait, gloomy, pope-ridden stage of the *medium aevum*.

And our *aevum*? It has renounced its genius, it has sent its sons round to collect strange growths for their damnation. The light Frenchman, who makes still worse a patchwork—he has at least a kind of cunning to fit together his plunder into one whole, he builds out of Greek columns and German vaults his Magdalene's wonder-temple. (20) And from one of our artists, when he was asked to invent a porch for one of our old German churches, has come, to my seeing, a model of stately antique column-work. (21)

I will not recite how hateful are our painters of rouged dummies and cherubs. They have taken the eyes of the women by their stagey postures, their lying complexion, their gay-coloured dress. Manly Albrecht Dürer, jest of our new hands, how dearer to me thy most wooden carved form! (22)

And you, you excellent men, to whom it was given to enjoy the highest beauty, who now have descended to give tidings of your bliss—even you do harm to genius. Genius will not be raised up and taken off on other's wings, even if they be the wings of morning. (23) It is its own powers which matter, which unfold in the dreams of childhood, which work in the life of youth, until, strong and nimble like the mountain-lion, it roves out for its prey. So genius is mostly reared by Nature, since you pedagogues never can counterfeit that manifold arena, wherein genius can act and find enjoyment to the immediate measure of its powers.

Hail to thee, boy, who art born with a sharp eye for proportions, to practise deftly upon every form. When by and by there wakes around thee the joy of life, and when thou feelest the jubilant pleasures of mankind after labour, feelest their fear and hope, feelest the vintager's brave shout when the fullness of the autumn swells his vats, the sickleman's lively dance when he has hung his idle instrument high upon the beam—then when the mighty hour of desires and sufferings lives more manfully in thy brush, when thou hast aspired and suffered enough, enjoyed enough, and art fulfilled with this world's beauty, and worthy to repose in the arms of a goddess, worthy to feel at her breast that by which Hercules was new-born and deified—Then, O thou mediatrix between Gods and men, O Divine Beauty, receive him; and more than Prometheus will he bring down the bliss of the Gods upon the earth.

**16** Here Goethe parts company with Herder, or at least Herder the critic of architecture. Herder had said—still under French influence—that architecture is an “embellished mechanical art.” The eye “drunk with the beauty of nature and art, embellished (buildings) as much as it could, and so what noble objects did (they) become.” (1769; S.W., ed. Suphan, Vol. 4, p. 123.)

**17** On the contrast between “bildende Kunst” and “schöne Kunst” see 6. The stress on the elementary nature of creation in art is again originally English and then Herderian, see the excellent study in Logan Pearsall Smith's *Four Romantic Works*, 1925. He quotes for instance David Mallet's *Excursion* of 1728, which begins: “Companion of the Muse, Creative Power, Imagination!” The opposite French view of the Age of Reason is expressed by Laugier in the Preface to his *Essai*. Architecture, he says, has “essential beauties, independent of the customs of the senses and the conventions of men.” As long as that was believed, it was impossible to admit the validity of different standards at different ages and in different peoples. Here lies Herder's greatest discovery. Not without some influence from Voltaire (who in his turn had learnt in England) Herder preached in his Shakespeare essay: “As everything changed in this world, so that Nature which created Greek drama had to change. The condition of the world, customs, states, traditions of the heroic age, faith, even music . . . were transformed” (ib., Vol. 5, p. 218). His conclusion is that therefore Shakespeare's are as good as Sophocles' plays, just because they are so completely different. (Young: “. . . the farther from them in similitude, the nearer to them . . . in excellence.”) Goethe applies this new conception to Gothic architecture.

**18** These lines are, needless to say, entirely Herder, see the Introduction to this article.

**19** “Characteristic”—another signature word. It received its romantic meaning from Shaftesbury. Reynolds in his Discourse of 1772 uses it in the same sense as Herder and Goethe when he makes Salvator Rosa the chief representative of “the original or characteristic style”—adding carefully that this is a manner inferior to the grand. Against this see Goethe's next sentence.

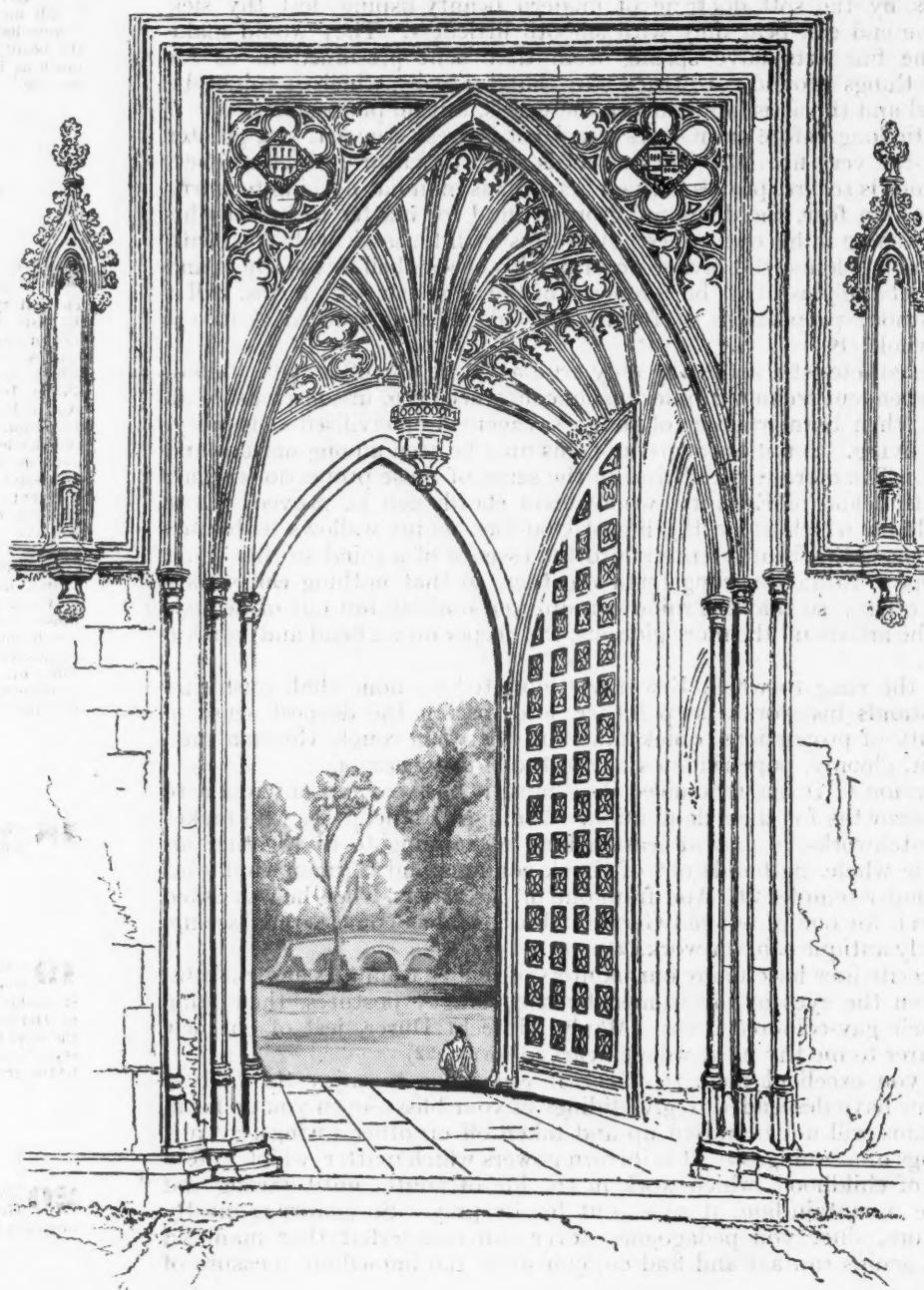
**20** The Madeleine in Paris was begun in 1764—a Greek temple outside but vaulted with three domes in its interior.



**21** I don't know what church Goethe was thinking of here. At Goethe's university town Leipzig, to quote only one instance, there existed a classical porch added to the front of a Gothic church about 1730 (St. Nicholas's). In London Inigo Jones had done the same at Old St. Peter's.

**22** With this remark Goethe stands at the beginning of German “Preraphaelitism” as he stands at the beginning of the German Gothic Revival. The young Romantics Wackenroder and Schlegel, and the young Nazarenes Pforr, Overbeck and Cornelius followed twenty and thirty years later.

**23** Whom does Goethe address here? I presume Young.



## Act 2: Romantic Gothic. Scene 2: Rickman and Cambridge

The German Romantic Movement developed from *Sturm und Drang*, the English from the Picturesque. Hence there is in Novalis and Hölderlin and the painters a strain of fanaticism, of a sombre grandeur, of a sweeping pantheism which makes Wordsworth and Coleridge and all the others (except Blake) appear gentle and civilized. In architecture the difference is most patent in the role given to nature. You can write a history of German romantic architecture from Gilly to the mid-nineteenth century without paying much attention to the landscape setting of buildings. In England the alliance of the two is inseparable. Even in painting Friedrich's landscape is fiercer, more solemn, and less human than that of his English contemporaries. France and Italy need not be considered in this context. They are virtually out of this early picturesque Romanticism and Gothicism.

For, once more, the Picturesque and the Romantic cannot be kept apart in English architecture between 1800 and say 1835 or 1840. The playfulness of the Rococo left Neo-Gothic design as the eighteenth century drew to its close. It was only rarely replaced by Romantic sublimity in Goethe's sense—at Fonthill, for example. As a rule what took its place had just as little truth; a thin veil of slender Perpendicular shaft and rib, just substantial enough to conjure up associations with a chivalrous

or pious past, but also gentle enough to keep away rude reality. Nothing could achieve this romantic effect more successfully than a blend of architecture and nature. Thus the Gothicists were especially happy when they worked in the country, and thus—among collegiate work of the Revival—Cambridge is happier than Oxford. It has never yet been properly established when the Backs were discovered, that is, ceased to be Backs. What appears certain is that when Thomas Rickman, famous chiefly as the antiquarian writer who gave us our terminology of Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular, built the New Court for St. John's College in 1825-31, a conception of the immense picturesque value of the Backs was foremost in his mind. The building itself is of the accepted Perpendicular variety of its date, with that curious paperiness of detail so characteristic of the contemporary Commissioners' Churches (and Rickman's own churches at Birmingham). But where it touches the landscaped grounds, it opens out into cloisters, and where the Bridge gives an opportunity for vistas of river and lawns, Rickman also introduces—much more poetical than one may expect to find him—wide traceried windows. Evidently being fully aware of the romantic charms of his site he chose the Gothic style of architecture for its romantic qualities and not for any reasons of Christian truth, as Pugin would have done fifteen or twenty years later.





EARLY in 1825 the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, decided that the time had come to add to the already considerable accommodation of their society. Finding it impossible to obtain a site on the east bank of the Cam, they selected one across the river, and on February 25, they "agreed to apply to Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Browne and Mr. Rickman . . . [for] plans and estimates of a building to be erected on the North Side of the college walks, sufficient for the accommodation of Fellows and Scholars from 100 to 120." Just over a year later the college orders record that Thomas Rickman and his partner Henry Hutchinson had been chosen as the architects of the new building. The contract for its foundations and basement was signed the following September, although the elevations were not approved by the college until January, 1827.

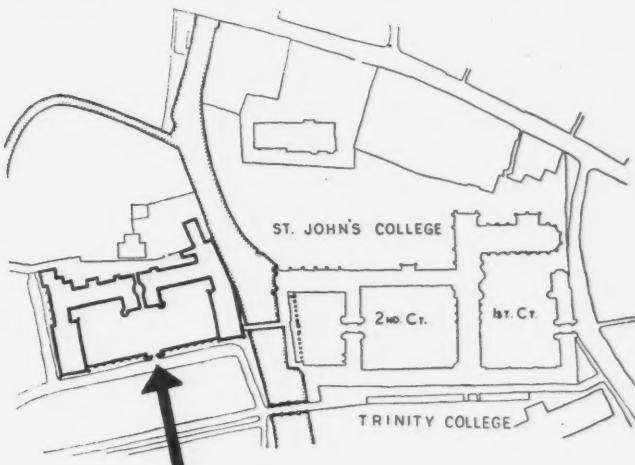
Thomas Rickman is now remembered chiefly as the nomenclator of the English Gothic styles. His classification has won hands down against its competitors, and for generations the terms "Early English," "Decorated," and "Perpendicular" have seemed to possess the same sort of inevitability as the names of the months or days of the week. They are arbitrary and slightly absurd terms, when one comes to think about them, but perhaps it is those very qualities which have recommended them to the English mind, in preference to the straightforward decimal system (as it were) of First, Second and Third Pointed. And if the system is typically English, so, in its curious unpredictability, was the career of its inventor. Although of Quaker stock and upbringing, Rickman early in life conceived a lasting passion for military uniforms and made himself an elaborate set of toy soldiers. He was trained for medicine but became a clerk in an insurance broker's office. He began to sketch churches at the age of 33; three years later he was elected professor of architecture at the Liverpool Academy, and soon afterwards, without any training in our sense of the word, set up on his own as an architect. In spite of his membership of the Society of Friends (which, characteristically enough, he eventually left to join the ritualistic Irvingites) he was very widely employed in building churches for the Establishment. He is described as having been "a man of vivacious temperament, though unostentatious in his habits; a keen observer, and energetic in business."

During the period of Rickman's greatest activity as a practising architect, from 1817 till 1835, the Gothic Revival was passing through a transitional phase. The playful charm of Rococo Gothic was a

thing of the past; the full-blown maturity of serious ecclesiology had not been reached. Rickman did as much as any man to bring on the Revival's coming-of-age. In Eastlake's considered judgment: "In the science of his art he will not, of course, bear comparison with Willis. In capability of invention he ranks, even for his time, far below Pugin. But it may be fairly questioned whether, if we consider him in the two-fold capacity of a theorist and practitioner, he did not do greater service to the cause than either his learned contemporaries or his enthusiastic disciple."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Rickman's own buildings reflect something of the uncertainty of the times, and it is significant that his most ambitious and most successful work, the New Court at St. John's, should, for all its correct detail, belong so emphatically to the scenic tradition of which Wyatt's Fonthill was the most famous product.

The elevations of the St. John's New Court, which were approved in 1827, are preserved in the college. They are dated "November 1826" and, so far as the main building is concerned, they do not differ in any material particular from the executed designs. The bridge, however, is shown with a pierced parapet, without pinnacles, surmounted in the centre by an eagle. The bridge built was designed

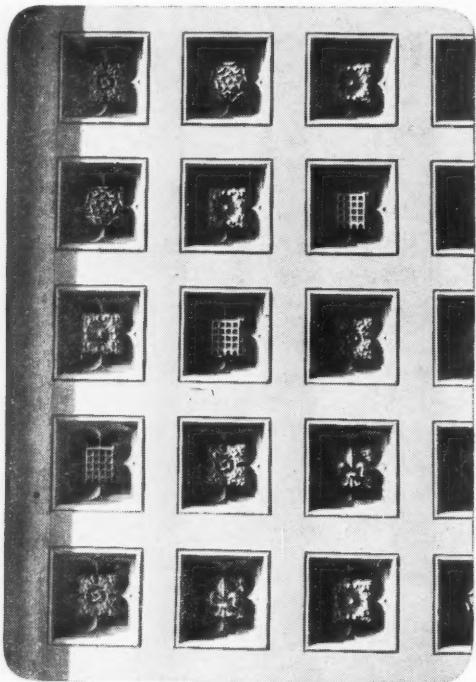
<sup>1</sup> *History of the Gothic Revival*, p. 122.



The south front of Rickman's buildings for St. John's, designed in 1825 or 1826—the front you see looking north from Trinity Bridge, with the main block appearing behind the screen or cloister.

by Hutchinson; at first it had been intended to have a suspension bridge, then one of iron. Until mid-1827 it had not been decided whether the exterior of the building was to be of brick or stone, and the contractors were required to furnish alternative estimates.<sup>2</sup> During the progress of the work Rickman was able to persuade the college to various alterations, all in the direction of permanence and durability. Thus all staircases are of stone, although, according to the specification in the college treasury, they were to be of wood. Similarly, in the college order book under the date March 18, 1829, there is an entry. "Agreed to adopt the recommendation of the Architects that the roof of the new cloister be constructed of Clunch instead of wood and plaster." The original estimate "made upon the supposition of bricks being obtained from the College land," and not allowing for the bridge, amounted to £42,588 10s. 8d.; the actual cost was £70,137 9s. 9d.<sup>3</sup> The architects were paid at the rate of 5 per cent., receiving £3,506 17s. 6d. Their travelling expenses, for 55 visits, totalled £472 10s., and they charged £26 5s. for two perspectives for engraving.

Although much of the increase in the cost of the building beyond the original estimate may be attributed to the adoption of more expensive materials than at first envisaged, it is interesting to note that the greatest proportionate increase was in the cost of the foundations and basement. Instead of £6,975 7s. 6d., these cost £15,990 12s. 11d. The construction of so large a building on a riverside site



A detail of the centre doors to Rickman's New Court.

had its problems, and these Rickman solved in a thoroughgoing fashion. "The foundation was formed by removing the whole of the peat, laying out timbers upon the underlying ground, and building an enormous mass of brickwork upon it until the level of the river was attained. A

<sup>2</sup> See *Specification of the Work, and Particulars of the Materials to be used in the completion of the New Buildings at St. John's College, Cambridge . . .* (Birmingham, 1827).

<sup>3</sup> These and the other figures here quoted are taken from estimates and accounts in St. John's College treasury.

large substructure of vaulted cellars was then added so as to raise the floor of the lower rooms considerably above the level of the ground."<sup>4</sup> Rickman seems to have been determined that his building should be proof against the reproach of flimsiness which in the case of other works of the early Gothic Revival was too often justified by events, and this determination finds expression also in details such as the wrought iron bond chains let into the top courses of the corbels of the oriel windows.

So much for the building history of the New Court at St. John's. Of its architectural qualities it is not easy to write. One may point out, of course, that essentially it is a classical building in Gothic dress, like others of its time (including several at Cambridge) and that its dress is late Perpendicular in style, with certain features, such as the battlemented turrets, deriving from local medieval practice.<sup>5</sup> But, when one has said that, one is not much nearer the root of the matter. For the truth is that St. John's New Court, in Mr. Steegmann's words, "insists on being looked at scenically and it succeeds."<sup>6</sup> Such architecture defies critical analysis; its effects must be experienced. And it is, indeed, an architecture of *effects* in a more special sense, so that one must, to appreciate it fully, approach the building from different angles and walk around and about it and climb the spiral staircase under the lantern, choosing the best view-points and vistas and allowing the spirit of the thing, helped always by the surprising scale of it all, to make its full impact. Also one should, if possible, see it in different weathers and seasons, in the haleyon days of summer and again on autumn evenings when the wind drives the dead leaves through the gateway and the unglazed windows of the cloister. . . . For this is a romantic, evocative architecture; its power to move depends much on the mood and the imaginative equipment of the spectator and cannot be explained in terms of a purely formal aesthetic.

Rickman and Hutchinson sent in a Gothic design in the King's College competition in which Wilkins was successful. In the second competition for the Cambridge University Library their design, in the Greek Ionic order, was chosen but they had to be content with an honorarium, since a third competition was held and C. R. Cockerell appointed architect; Rickman himself took part in the war of pamphlets which attended one stage of this complicated and unsatisfactory affair.<sup>7</sup> In 1835, when Hutchinson had been dead three years, Rickman competed unsuccessfully for the Fitzwilliam Museum. It would be an undue partiality for Rickman that would sacrifice either Wilkins's screen at King's or Basevi's Fitzwilliam, and one cannot feel sorry that neither he nor Cockerell was destined to destroy Wright's handsome facade to the old Library. Nor could Rickman's most ardent admirer wish him a more impressive monument than the New Court at St. John's.

MARCUS WHIFFEN

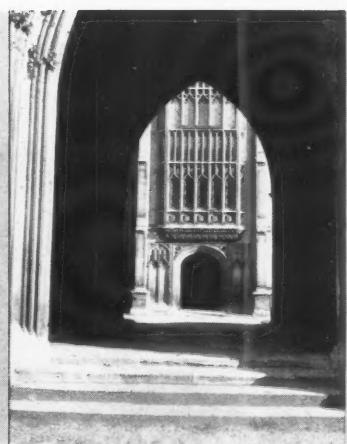
<sup>4</sup> Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 279.

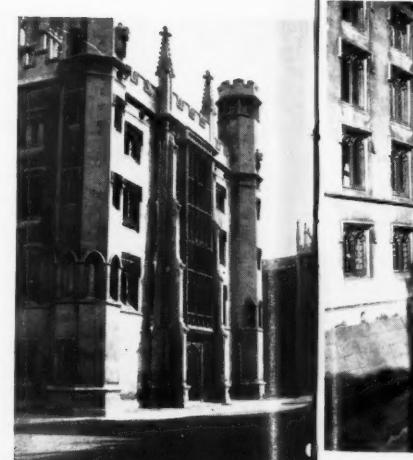
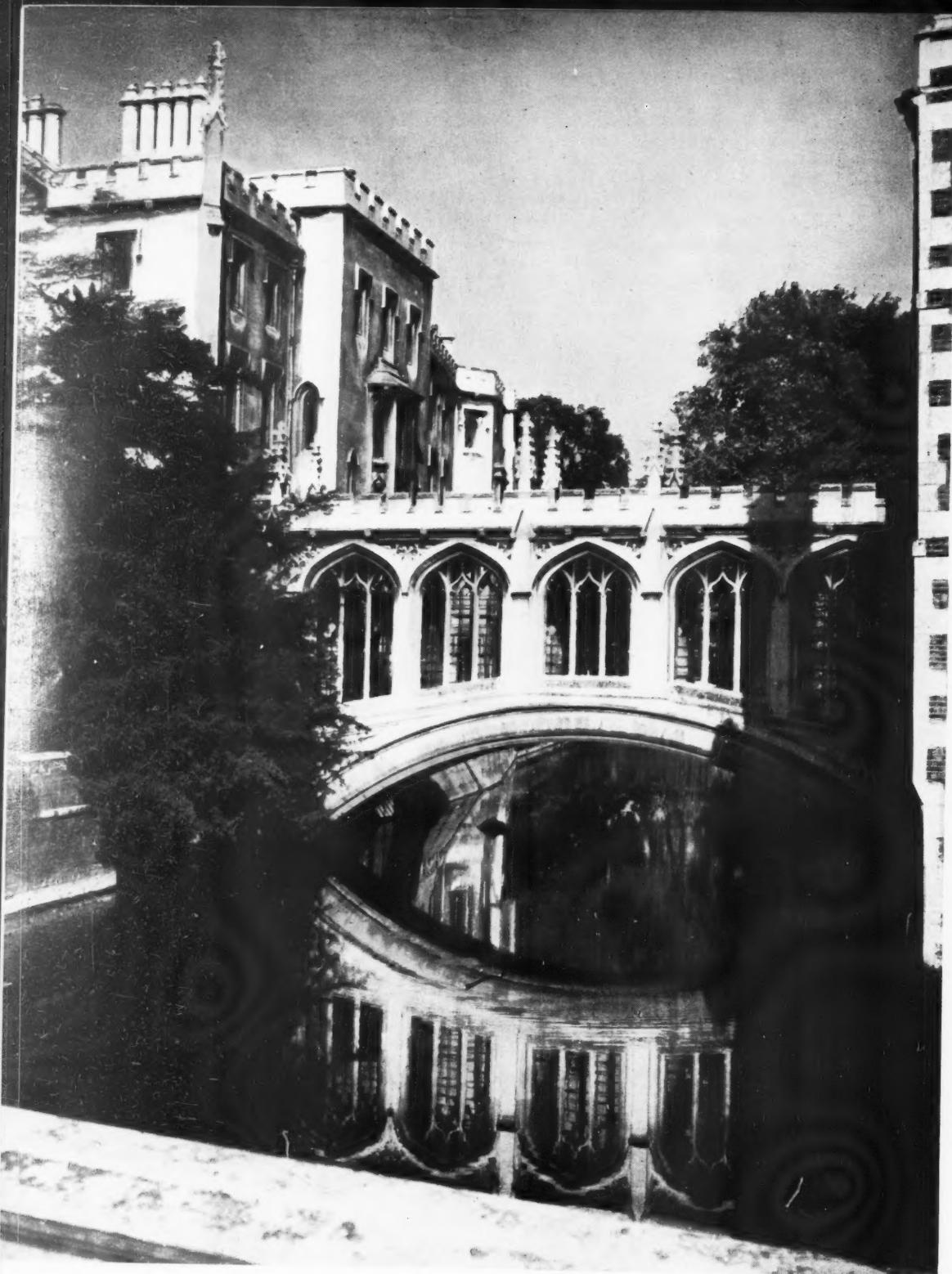
<sup>5</sup> The oriel in the central tower, on the other hand, may have been suggested by Lupton's Tower at Eton, the common arrangement in Cambridge gate towers being paired windows flanking a niche containing a statue (as at Christ's, Queens', Jesus, and twice at Trinity and St. John's itself).

<sup>6</sup> Cambridge (1940), p. 89.

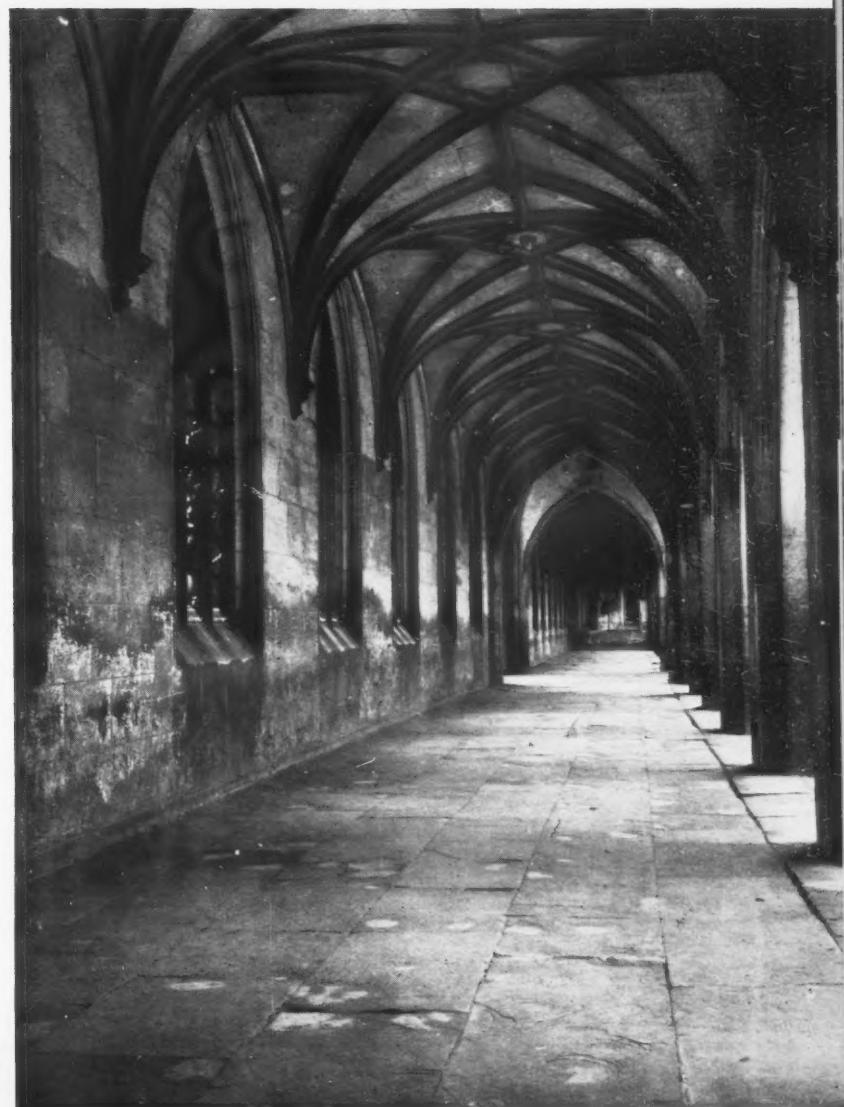
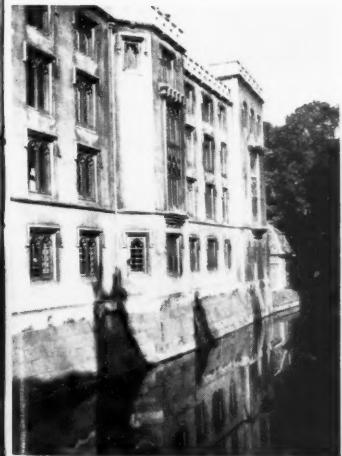
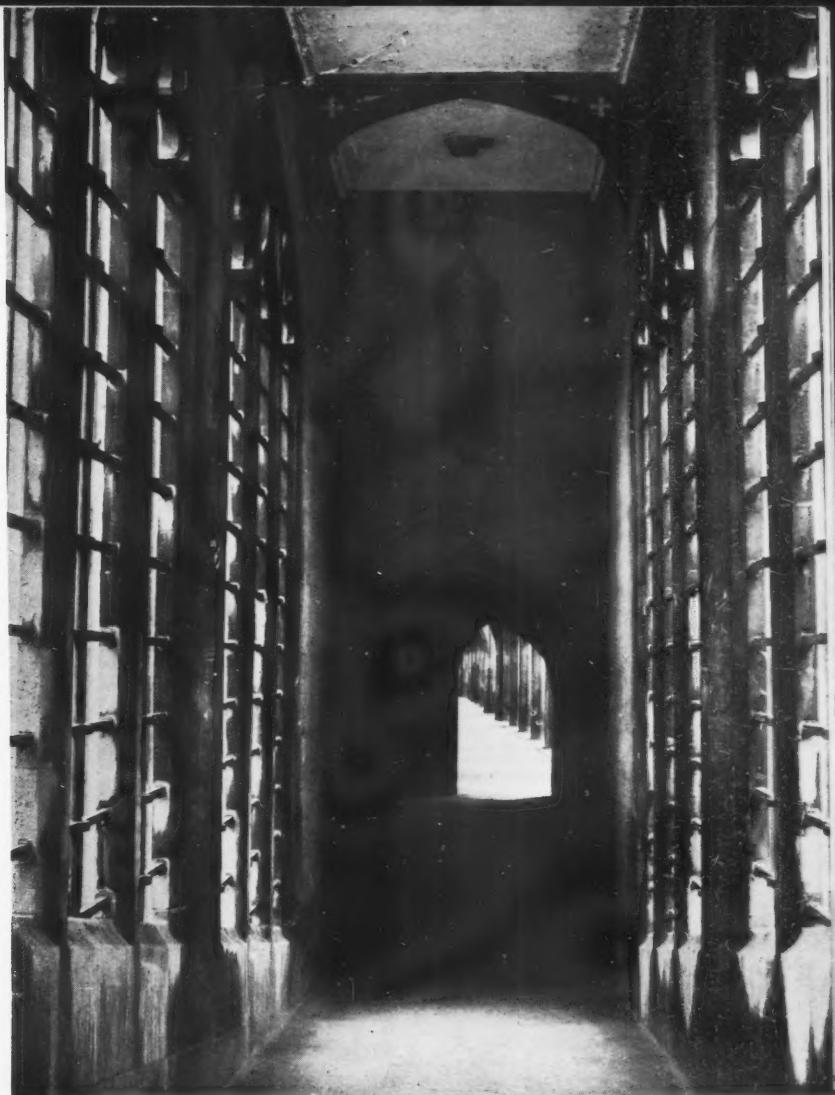
<sup>7</sup> With *An Answer to Observations on the Plans for the New Library, being a Defence of the Designs presented by Messrs. Rickman and Hutchinson* (Birmingham, 1831). Important Grecian buildings by Rickman are the churches of St. Peter and St. Thomas (bombed) at Birmingham, and Down House, Staunton, Glos. The *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* begins with diagrams of the classical orders ("as a peace-offering to the shade of Vitruvius," Eastlake remarks). It is an odd fact, and one which seems in a way to link Rickman with the eighteenth century, that the early editions of this work were illustrated, not with examples culled from the vast number of buildings which Rickman had visited and sketched, but with specimen period details of his own invention.

Facing page, top: the famous view of the New Court from Trinity Court. On the right, from left to right: the entrance screen from the roof, looking towards south-west, a view through the centre gateway of the screen towards the main entrance, and the staircase under the lantern.





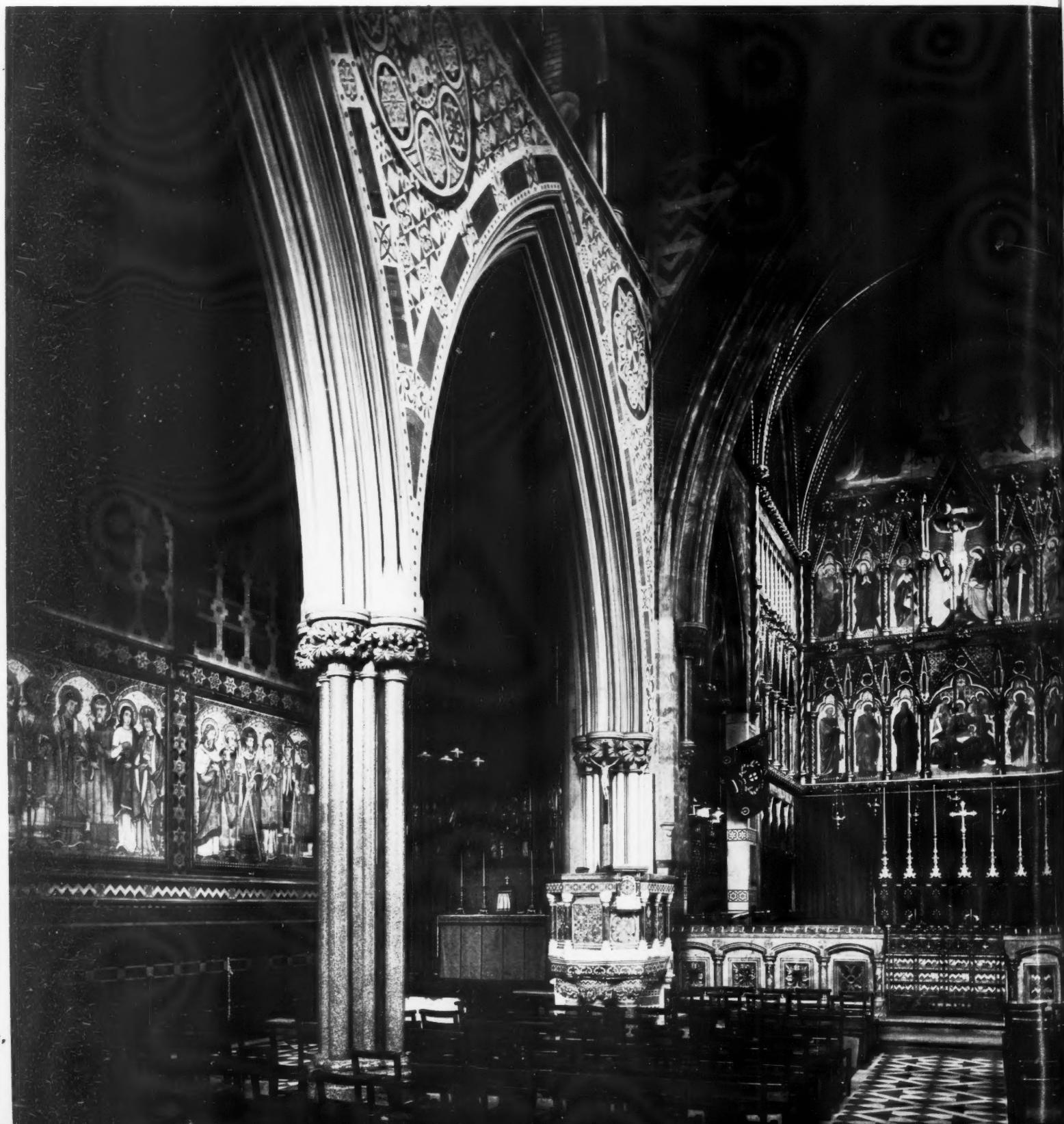
*Facing page, top: the Bridge of Sighs, the most picturesque piece of work Rickman ever designed. Below, from left to right: three views of the south front towards cloister and screen, and one view of the river front as it appears from the bridge. The two large photographs on the right are of the interior of the bridge and the interior of the cloister.*



# Act 3: Christian Gothic. Scene 1: William Butterfield

Rickman's work at Cambridge was secular, if in a romantic way conventional. But Rickman was chiefly a designer of churches, and his churches belong in style to their date. They are, as Mr. Summerson puts it in the article beginning on the facing page, "thin, wiry, decorative, 'late,' and archaeologically incorrect." All these qualities were disliked by the leading architects of the generation following Rickman's. Butterfield and even his less revolutionary, less bluntly single-minded colleagues, such as Scott, believed in substantial solidity, "Early or Middle Pointed" and archaeological accuracy. Some of them also believed in Gothic as the only true Christian architecture. Butterfield was one of them, though not the first. This new ethical and ecclesiastical attitude towards architecture comes from Pugin. By the date of his birth Pugin belongs to Scott and Butterfield, by that of his early death, and

also by his picturesque life and his brilliantly light draughtsmanship, to the Romantics. And his detail outside and inside the Houses of Parliament is indeed decidedly pre-Victorian. His philosophy on the other hand is in most aspects Victorian, though in a few almost post-Victorian. With his *Contrasts* of 1835 the question of style in architecture ceased to be one of aesthetic preference. Classical became pagan, modern criminal. Truth—religious, moral and social—lay only in the Middle Ages. Four years later Benjamin Webb founded the Cambridge Camden Society and again four years later Newman published his *Tract XC*. Butterfield was one of the favourite architects of the Camdenians; of Newman's less familiar role in architecture the article following Mr. Summerson's will give some information.



PEOPLE of taste screw up their faces at the architecture of William Butterfield. Clergymen white-wash his walls. Architects pay him respect distantly, having it on the authority of Beresford Pite or Mr. Goodhart-Rendel that he was a great man in his time. We are all diffident about that stern Anglican in steel-rimmed spectacles, whose fame earned him the Royal Gold Medal, but whose aversion to public life was so intense that the Medal had to be carried to him privately by an envoy.

What is the truth about Butterfield? I believe I have asked myself that question for twenty years and still find it difficult to write down a clear and sensible explanation of the fascination he exercises. Here, however, is an attempt, written primarily to clear my own ideas and, hopefully, to satisfy any latent curiosity about the subject which may exist among readers of the REVIEW.

William Butterfield\* was born in 1814, which makes him a contemporary within a year or two, one way or the other, of Dickens, Thackeray, the Brontës, George Eliot, Anthony Trollope and Robert Browning, in other words of that generation of writers which produced the literary harvest of the 'forties and 'fifties. Among architects his near contemporaries were Pugin, Gilbert Scott, G. E. Street, R. C. Carpenter and Benjamin Ferrey, in other words the "hard core" of the Gothic Revival. Ruskin was five years his junior. Born in London, the son of a chemist, Butterfield was articled at seventeen to a builder in Horseferry Road. The indenture was cancelled after three years, when Butterfield entered an office in Worcester, where, according to Paul Waterhouse, "a sympathetic head clerk of archaeological tastes encouraged him in the study of English Church-building." His employer was apparently so obscure that not only is his name unrecorded but it is uncertain if he was architect or builder. In any case Butterfield, as a designer, was virtually self-taught. He grounded himself on his own studies of the Cathedral—and other Gothic buildings in and around Worcester. At the same time he acquired an intimate and affectionate knowledge of good, practical building.

Of his early adult life we know nothing, until he appears as the friend of three leading figures in the High Church movement of the 'forties—Benjamin Webb, J. M. Neale and A. J. Beresford-Hope. This High Church world was a somewhat rarefied stratum of Victorian life, hitched to the wagon of inherited wealth and concerned, to a great extent, with the minutiae of religious observance which, seen in the context of nineteenth century history, now seem childish in their unimportance. Webb, for instance, was a headlong champion of the adoption of the eastward position during the recital of the creed. Beresford-Hope, in the House of Commons, fought like a tiger for the rejection of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill of 1859. It is only fair, however, to remember that those were the days when mobs broke the windows of known ritualists, and hooligans set their mongrels on surpliced choir-boys.

Anyway, Butterfield gave his loyalty to this movement absolutely. He contributed largely to *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, a book of approved designs for all sorts of things from cemetery chapels to fald-stools, published in 1847. For the whole of his life he was a devout adherent of the narrowest Anglicanism. Church-building and worship were the whole content of his life. He built nearly a hundred churches, restored many others, and his secular works (apart from vicarages) were confined to certain collegiate works at Oxford, two large houses, a hospital, and a few other things of small importance. For some fifty years he practised architecture, retiring towards

the end of the century. In 1900, after a period of senility during which the balance of his mind was imperfect, he died.

Mr. Harry Redfern has described his appearance round about 1877. He was "a slight figure, rather above medium height, with thin features, a high forehead and greying hair; side whiskers and round steel spectacles." His dress "consisted of a black cloth frock coat and vest and grey trousers over immaculately polished shoes, a white linen shirt with collar à la Gladstone\* and a loosely tied black bow."

He was a life-long bachelor, cared for by a married couple, many years in his service. He was abstemious in all things, never smoked and, in

Mr. Redfern recalls how he used to make small and highly unattractive drawings of parts of a church and send these into the drawing-office to be developed, which was no easy task. Later he would revise and correct these office-made drawings to a fastidious degree and by a lengthy process of proposal, development and correction the design would emerge, the last corrections being made on the site. It should be added that his assistants were almost all hard-headed "bread-and-butter" draughtsmen, arriving promptly at 9.45 and vanishing on the stroke of six. He only had three pupils—Henry Woodyer, Galsworthy Davie and, much later, Mr. Redfern.

Thus we have before us the picture of a Victorian

#### COALPIT HEATH, BRISTOL, 1844,

Butterfield's first executed work, "a solid, workmanlike church, with some shrewd hints at the future Butterfield, notably in the lych-gate."



his office, was a remote, inaccessible but courteous tyrant. His office was in Adelphi Terrace. The Adam room in which he worked was furnished, says Mr. Redfern, with "an old Turkey carpet and a few good pieces of late Georgian and early Victorian furniture," including horsehair-covered chairs—a comfortable arm-chair for the client. No surroundings could be more inappropriate, you may say, for a medievalist. But, as I think you shall see, Butterfield was not a medievalist at all.

Butterfield's method of working was very remarkable. He possessed neither drawing-board nor T-square, his only instruments being a pair of folding compasses and a two-foot rule. Paul Waterhouse said he was a fine draughtsman but

of the hardest, narrowest kind, unsoftened by any hint of humour or human irregularity. Here is none of Pugin's romantic glory, of Scott's *paterfamilias* geniality; of Street's high enthusiasm. Butterfield stood separate from these contemporaries of his, hardly knew them and mixed only with the high church clergy in the constricted social life he allowed himself in his afternoon visits to the *Athenaeum*.

His first work was the little church at Coalpit Heath, Bristol, 1844, a solid, workmanlike quasi-fourteenth-century parish church with some shrewd hints at the future Butterfield, notably in the lych-gate. In the following year he designed the buildings for St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, for his friend, Beresford-Hope. They are illustrated on page 171. In 1849 he started work on the most famous of all his churches, All Saints, Margaret Street, begun to be built in 1850, structurally complete in 1855 and dedicated in 1859. Another important church of this early period is St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, designed

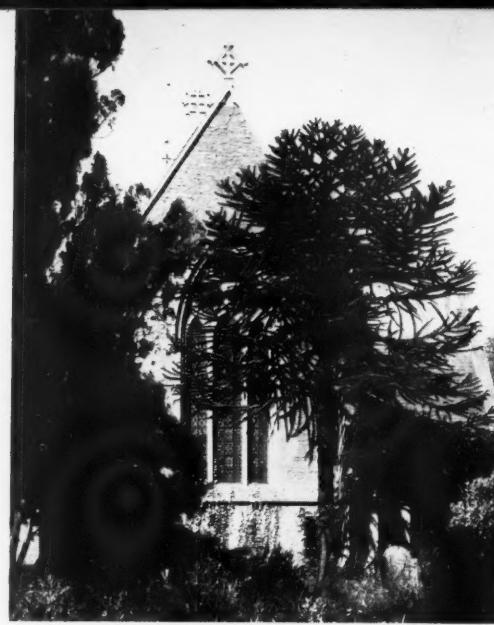
\*The biographical information used in this article is derived from (i) Paul Waterhouse's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (ii) W. R. Lethaby's *Philip Webb and his Work*, 1935, and (iii) a paper by Mr. Harry Redfern read to the *Ecclesiastical Society* and printed in *The Architect and Building News*, April 14, 1944.

\*He was certainly Gladstonian in appearance. Only the other day I talked to a builder's foreman who remembered him as "like nothing so much as Mr. Gladstone." The same informant told me how a site used to have to be tidied and swept when Butterfield was expected, "as if it was the King."



**COALPIT HEATH,  
BRISTOL, 1844.**

the vicarage and the west front of the church. Of secular work, Butterfield did very little that was not either collegiate or for the personal domestic needs of the parish clergy.



apparently within a year of All Saints and completed by 1853.

These early churches are the most important of Butterfield's works. But to understand them it is necessary to see them in the context of Gothic church-building between 1818 and 1848. Three phases must be distinguished:—

1. The Gothic of the Commissioners Churches, in many cases a cheap, but sometimes an extravagant, alternative to Greek. This Gothic, thin, wiry, decorative, "late," and archaeologically incorrect, was in the eighteenth century spirit. It came nearest to correctness in Barry's churches in Islington and Riekman's in Birmingham.
2. The personal Gothic achievement of A. W. Pugin. This was a miraculously fluent transcription of fourteenth century Gothic adhering with automatic accuracy in planning, construction and detail to ancient models. More important, it gave birth in Pugin's mind to an architectural *philosophy*. This philosophy condemned all classical forms and held up Gothic as the only rational, as well as the only Christian form of architecture. Pugin became a Roman Catholic, so his personal contribution to Anglican church-building was nil.
3. The Gothic of the Ecclesiological Movement which had as its nucleus the Cambridge Camden Society, founded by Webb while an undergraduate, along with J. M. Neale, Beresford-Hope and the architect F. A. Paley. The ecclesiologists veered from *philosophy* to *dogma*. Their chief interest was in a liturgical orthodoxy which was to conform with the tenets of the English church under Andrews and Laud. Rather illogically they went back much further for their architectural ideal and insisted on conformity with what they called the "middle-pointed" phase of English Gothic—i.e., about 1320-50, excluding the Perpendicular as "debased."

The Camdenians had two favourite architects, R. C. Carpenter and William Butterfield. Carpenter, who was a convert from the eighteenth century brand of Gothic, achieved a wonderful degree of antiquarian correctness in his churches. St. Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square, is a good example; no transcription could be more accomplished; no architecture, surely, more completely impersonal. The early churches of Benjamin Ferrey, F. A. Paley and J. L. Pearson are much of the same kind—graceful reserved essays on the approved fourteenth century theme.

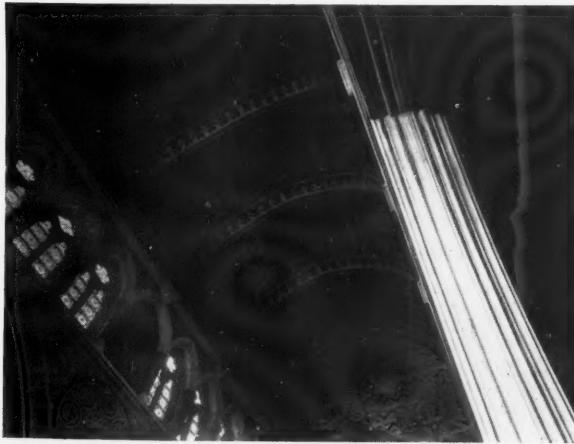
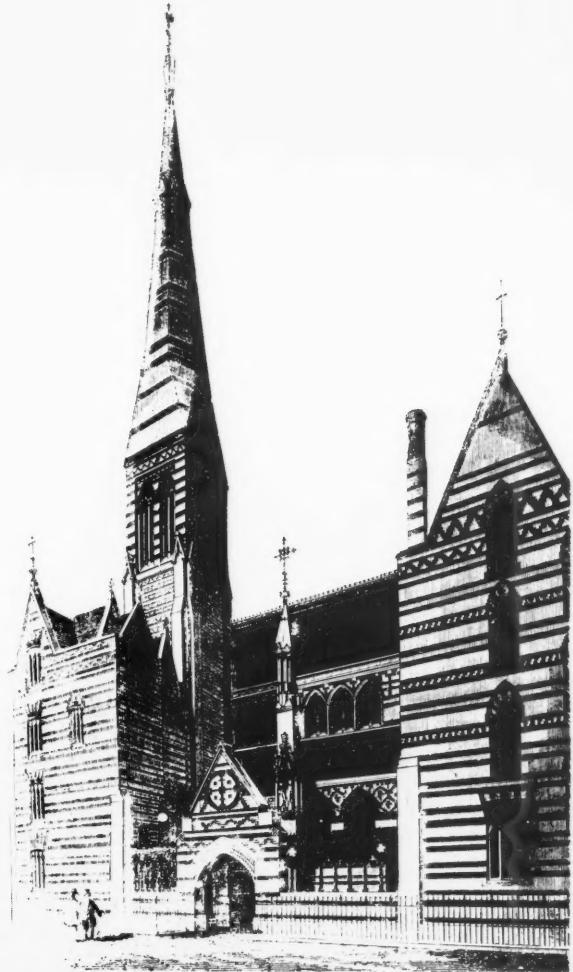
It was against this background of conscientious self-effacement that All Saints gradually dawned. I say gradually because the church was built very slowly and had exerted a widespread influence long before its dedication in 1859. It was in June, 1853 that readers of the *Builder* were treated to a

whole page wood-cut of the building and soon "Mr. Hope's Church" (as All Saints was rather improperly called) was the most discussed modern building in England. It is Butterfield's chief work; it was so to him and a portfolio of the working-drawings reclined always near his desk.

The smallness and inconvenience of the site are obvious. They were much deplored at the time of the building's completion; though I cannot help feeling that this tax on the young architect's ingenuity was productive of much originality and spurred him to break those rules which he continued to break with unabated ferocity for the rest of his life. Those rules are rules of proportion, which Butterfield's contemporaries derived most con-

scientiously from medieval precedent. The site at Margaret Street might conceivably have accommodated a stunted version of a "Decorated" parish church. Butterfield's church is, if you like, stunted, or rather, telescoped, but the curtailments are joyfully accepted and the church has the nobility of a saint in fetters. The short nave is of three huge bays, where I fancy that Carpenter or Ferrey would have given us four, of much smaller calibre, in the hope of retaining a semblance of Gothic proportion. The height entailed by the width of bay is considerable and an ample clerestory rides on top, carrying a steep timber roof. But Butterfield goes further and makes the short chancel even higher than the





#### **ALL SAINTS, MARGARET STREET, LONDON, 1850-59.**

The contemporary engraving gives the best idea of the awkward site and the resulting vertical emphasis, fiercely contradicted by the bands of black brick-work. The "coltish negligence" of Butterfield comes out in the porch illustrated in the photograph on the left. The detail as seen on the right is terse, the colouring crude, but the whole has a vigour and fanatic determination to be found in very few other churches by Victorian architects.



### ALL SAINTS, MARGARET STREET,

the tower, of North German type, has a slim elegance which one does not always associate with Butterfield. The engraving on the right is from *The Builder*, 1859.



nave, its vaults springing far above the nave arches. For his tower he is forced to borrow the westernmost bay of the south aisle but here again height compensates for ground-space and English precedent gives place to a sensational adaptation of the north German type. Finally the single visible buttress of the south aisle is arbitrarily construed into a grand feature, on cathedral scale.

So much for the heterodoxy of composition, largely, perhaps, engendered by the site. Now for the handling. The chief materials are red bricks mixed with black bricks and stone to form bands and diapers. This in 1849 was very startling indeed. Red brick was used, of course, in the 'forties, especially by those architects who cultivated the Elizabethan or Tudor revivals. But the true Gothic men clung to stone—Kentish Rag, with quoins and openings in Caen or Bath stone. Butterfield used the common, hard red brick. And in it he set those multiple black bands and hard innocently crude diapers which made people wonder about All Saints as soon as the walls were breast high and made them wonder still more when the bands climbed right to the summit of the tower and were echoed in the spire.

These bands were Butterfield's discovery—not Ruskin's—and he must surely have been to Siena to discover them\*. He must have imagined their re-introduction at least as early as 1849, and it was not till 1851 that the first volume of *Stones of Venice* appeared, explaining that colour bands were valuable for a variety of reasons which I do not think Butterfield would have guessed—

\*Butterfield's travels are not recorded in any of the printed biographies, but I was recently assured by the daughter of one of his clients that "he had been to Siena."

as "a kind of expression of the growth or age of the wall," as "a symbol of the alternation of light and darkness" or "in their suggestion of the natural courses of rocks, and beds of the earth itself." Butterfield never thought in terms like these and I should be quite prepared to believe that he never bothered much with the *Stones of Venice*. Yet Butterfield's unwritten and Ruskin's written reasons had, I think, the same intuitive origin. These black bands are the puritan answer to the sensuous beastliness of what we now call "texture"—they oppose workmanship to sensibility or again in Ruskin's words (borrowed from a different context) they are the "noble grotesque" as against the "ignoble grotesque" of rustication and of the kind of architecture which grew out of the drawing board and T-square.

The general style of All Saints is what was called by the Camdenians "Middle Pointed" and for most of the details an English precedent can quite easily be found. But the precedents are not consistent and are selected and applied with a fanatical disregard for that decorative fluency which was already emerging in the fourteenth century. Butterfield loved the *awkwardness* inseparable from most early Gothic; he loved its strength and adolescence, its coltish negligence. He loved that his porch at All Saints should collide grotesquely with the wall of the Clergy House; he loved to clash the variableness of the pointed arch and to interrupt a rhythmical pattern in an agony of discord. This last device he carried, as we shall see, to excruciating extremes.

The interior of All Saints shows Butterfield in all his rigour. The nave capitals are in a style borrowed from Dorchester, a church he had recently restored; they are borrowed, obviously, for the

special fullness and luxuriance of the stiff-leaf. The shafts are in the hardest, shiniest Aberdeen granite. The aisle walls are decorated in glazed bricks and Minton tiles, with mastic patterns inlaid in the jamb-stones of the windows. The nave spandrels and those of the chancel arch are crammed with geometrical designs in brick, stone and marble. There is no colour-scheme: merely a wonderfully childish belief that natural materials arranged in geometrical patterns are sure to be right. It is rather like the Pre-Raphaelite belief that if you copy everything you can see in a natural object on your canvas the result is sure to have some meaning, though you cannot know beforehand precisely what.

All Butterfield's churches are to a greater or less degree ugly. And in almost all there is power and originality transcending the ugliness. I have seen churches of Butterfield's which are not strikingly ugly and in which there is only a rather sickening coarseness in all the parts. But always the Butterfield personality is there—unmistakably there.

The ugliness in All Saints was recognised even by the most sympathetic critics at the time of its completion. The *Ecclesiologist*, the Camdenian organ, in a long and laudatory article, observed that the merits of "force and power" had been "carried to excess." "The foliage of capitals and string-courses . . . is often exaggerated in its coarse but honest originality. . . . Curiously enough there is here to be observed the germ of the same dread of beauty, not to say the same deliberate preference of ugliness, which so characterises in fuller development the later paintings of Mr. Millais and his followers." The reference is, of course, to paintings like the "Carpenter's

Shop" and "Lorenzo and Isabella" and the analogy, coming from a contemporary, is interesting. Butterfield was not a Pre-Raphaelite or anything like; I doubt if he thought painters quite respectable, and Millais's prodigal, facile talent was the very reverse of the uncouth obstinacy of the architect's. And yet in their different ways, Butterfield and the Brotherhood were the two great protesting forces in the visual arts, protesting against the tradition of taste by putting aside the fear of ugliness and believing in something beyond and more important than beauty or its antithesis. Millais threw overboard a fully-developed technique of composition, allowed his paintings to become meaningless *arabesques* into which a photographic finish introduced a strange and distressing equivocation. Butterfield had, I think, no sense of composition to throw away. He was something of a primitive (which nobody could say of Millais!); but he too gives us an exaggerated insistence on detail which shocks in rather the same way as Millais's fantastic pursuit of finish.

All Saints, more than any other Butterfield church that I have seen, admits Italian influence and nowhere is this more obvious than in the sanctuary, with its great marble reredos, inset with panels painted by William Dyce, and in the traceried arches in the north and south chancel walls. The beauty of these arches, with their generous scale and full profiles, has often been remarked. Gerard Manley Hopkins, for instance, commented on their "rich nobility" when he re-visited the church in 1874\*, finding it in some other respects less admirable than he had once thought it. But Hopkins, who was no great sympathiser with Gothic revivalism, recognised the power in Butterfield and adds that not only the open arches of the chancel but "the touching and passionate curves of the lilyings in the ironwork under the baptistery arch marked his genius to me as before."

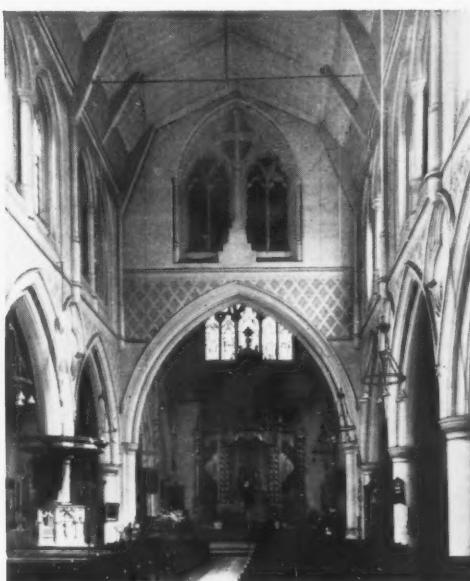
I said just now that we should find that Butterfield was not a medievalist and I think you will agree that All Saints shows not the slightest nostalgia for the Middle Ages. In a Pugin church the nostalgia is—nearly—everything; in a Butterfield church it is conspicuously absent. And a Butterfield "restoration" is a quite ruthless affair of bringing a decayed fabric up to date, and (allowing for a certain reverence for the old as a fount of design) of giving it an all-Butterfield look. He was no medievalist. He was a Victorian builder, accepting with a queer literal-mindedness, the conditions of his own time. He habitually used common red and black bricks or, as at Stoke Newington, London stocks. His rafters are pit-sawn timbers of ordinary scantling. He used luscious marbles when he had the chance, but he was perfectly happy with ordinary Birmingham tiles. He liked to build cheap and he held it a great thing to have built a church for under £250. On the practical side he was most painstaking; Halsey Ricardo has recorded that he even liked to have the curves of chimney flues set out full-size on the site.

An example of his love of the common Victorian building craft is provided by an answer he wrote, in the *Ecclesiologist* to somebody who had criticised his stalls at Dorchester. They said that certain corbels were merely "glued on" to the frame. Butterfield replied by a patient reference to the common practice of gluing the brackets which stiffen the junction of riser and tread in an ordinary domestic stair. It did not occur to him that such risers were unseen; if the use of glue was good carpentry practice there was nothing wrong in gluing a moulded corbel on to Gothic stalls.

Butterfield's idiosyncrasies lasted him all his life. The gawky builder-like roof at St. Augustine's College Library, Canterbury (1845) is echoed in the roof of St. Augustine's Church, Queen's Gate (1870-76). The criss-cross framing of the partitions in the one is echoed in the criss-cross diaper of the other. These and other idiosyncrasies occur over and over again but always in different relationships. It is not the details, but the use of them which never fails to surprise and impress. At the church of St. Matthias, Stoke Newington (1851-53),

we find a strange topsy-turvydom—clerestory windows in the aisles, aisle windows in the clerestory, a transept gable flung up to the top of the tower and a west window split in two by a buttress riding on a porch. At St. Alban's, Holborn (1859-63) there is again a saddle-back tower, this time at the west end. The stait-turret, traditionally an angle-feature, is thrust violently up the centre of it, rather, I think, in the spirit of the grand solitary buttress at All Saints. Butterfield gloried in a duality. Internally, this tower yields itself to the church, providing with the two transept wings a vestibule of extraordinary nobility. At Babbacombe (1867-74) there is a nave of the strangest kind with a waggon roof through which little stone dormers are allowed to peep. The chancel of the same church is one

The same idiosyncrasies occur over and over again in Butterfield's works, even where—as in the case of the two St. Augustines—thirty years separate them, for instance, the criss-cross patterns and the frankly carpenter-like roofs. Compare also the interior of All Saints', Margaret Street, on the facing page.



ST. AUGUSTINE'S, QUEEN'S GATE, 1870-76



ST. AUGUSTINE'S, CANTERBURY, THE LIBRARY, 1845

\*Notebooks of Gerard Manley Hopkins, ed. H. House, 1937. Entry for June 12, 1874.

of the architect's most alarming and ferocious adventures. Nowhere else does his favourite stridency—criss-cross versus segment—strike such a terrible note. And then there is Keble College, where, in the Chapel, we find echoes of many earlier buildings—the grand buttress of All Saints,



ALL SAINTS,  
BABACOMBE,  
DEVON, 1887-74

for instance, and the shallow west transepts of St. Alban's. Of the main quadrangle, built between 1867 and 1870, Eastlake observed that "the details are refined and artistic in design"—curious epithets to apply to Butterfield, but certainly true of Keble in relation to his earlier buildings. There is even a kind of sweetness in the handling, and the brick diapers are distributed with taste, if not with discretion. The Chapel is gloriously adventurous in its proportions and altogether one of the architect's most easily acceptable works—though still, I believe, rather strong meat for the delicate appetites of Oxford.

Butterfield went on building churches till 1891-2, the date of the little church of St. Augustine at Bournemouth, which has the same tricks and also much of the same power and certainty as the earlier buildings. But Butterfield in the 'nineties is already an anachronism. He had delivered his message long before and English church architecture had fallen into the gentle hands of Mr. Bodley.

The essential Butterfield belongs to those critical years 1845-65, in which the eighteenth century rule of taste was finally broken. In architecture, Butterfield is the great symbol of that sense of revulsion and liberation which permeated English art and letters in those years. Out of this context he is indeed difficult to estimate. Within it he is conspicuous as one of its most remarkable witnesses. It is just a century ago that his first important work was done and I think it is time for us to correct our perspective of the Early Victorian scene, more especially where architecture is concerned. Butterfield was a creator of the same stature as Dickens and Emily Brontë; and although the collision of either of these names with his is, at first sight, grotesque, there is something to be learnt from the experiment. The relationship of *Wuthering Heights* to the Waverley novels is not unlike the relationship of All Saints, Margaret Street to the Houses of Parliament. In both transitions conventionally romantic luggage goes by the board. Both Emily Brontë and William Butterfield seem to be trying above all to escape from *taste*. To make a Montoni live in Yorkshire, to make a whole novel out of the characterisation of sadists and weaklings was Miss Brontë's way; Butterfield's was to drag the Gothic Revival from its pedestal of scholarship and gentility and re-create it in a builder's yard. Both artists are working at two removes from life. Butterfield attacks architecture not as building, but as Gothic architecture as building. Miss Brontë attacks the novel not as an interpretation of life but as an interpretation of the Gothic novel touching her own experience of life. In these instances the Gothic Revival is no more remote from life than the Victorian novel.

To suggest comparisons between architects and writers is risky at any time and if I go on to say that the inartistic verbosity with which Charles Dickens hammers out his characters always strikes, in me, the same chord as do the copious devices which Butterfield requires for his effects, I may very well be accused of careless talk. But in Dickens the "aesthetic" appeal of hardness and cruelty is evident both in the choice of his material

and its handling and without carrying a very ambiguous parallel any further, I think there is no escaping the general conclusion that during the middle decades of the nineteenth century there was a singular attraction on the part of some painters, architects and writers towards ugliness. They deliberately set their aim wide of the mark of organic unity and tramped ahead with a sense of adventure and power and perhaps of curiosity—"to see what would happen." To describe their aim would be to attempt more than they themselves could do. "Truthfulness to Nature" was the kind of phrase which some of them liked to employ and in architecture this could and did mean a great deal more than the arbitrary combination of natural materials and intuitively selected Gothic forms. It meant that if the convenient arrangement of building suggested a violent duality or a formal discord, the duality and the discord could be accepted as right. But that after all is the mere rationalisation of a desire and the truth is that these people wanted, needed, craved ugliness. The architects found something of what they wanted in the Middle Ages which the romantic proclivities of a century had bequeathed them. The use of the pointed arch is in itself amply suggestive of discordant relationship; and the sheer gaucherie of much early Gothic—resulting from the localised vision and rule-of-thumb practice of the masonic craft—is an inexhaustible source for those in search of thoroughly uncomfortable relationships. Whence came this inclination for ugliness? It might plausibly be argued that it represents a resurgence of that hard bourgeois puritanism half hidden in the eighteenth century which had never expressed itself emotionally but at last seized the opportunity to do so; and did so most significantly, perhaps, in literature but also in the architecture associated with the Oxford movement in the Church of England. Such a thesis needs considerable testing. But I think that if the social and environmental origins of a number of the personalities concerned are examined much evidence can be found to support it. The phase did not last very long. Quite suddenly, around 1870, taste was again established, though on a very different plane, with church architecture rapidly receding from the conspicuous place it had occupied for thirty years.

To sum up. The first glory of Butterfield is, to me, his utter ruthlessness. How he hated "taste"! And how right he was! Just imagine yourself living in late Georgian London—yes, living in it, not just reading about it or enjoying the melancholy of its time-washed fragments. Imagine a city in which every street is a Gower Street, in which the "great" buildings are by smooth Mr. Wilkins, dull Mr. Smirke or facetious Mr. Nash. Imagine the unbearable oppressiveness of a landscape in which such architecture represents the emotional ceiling. That is the London—already faded, but scarcely altered—to which a man born in 1814 grows up. To such a man, being by nature an architect, the Pugin revelation comes when he is about 23; and across the hideous streets, the flaccid stucco, the flimsy railings and the six or seven million chimney-pots he sees the vision of an architecture which is hard, muscular, fearless, contemptuous alike of the drawing-room and the drawing-board—which is full of everything which the architecture around him negates.

That is the emotional setting, felt then by nearly every young architect who could see beyond his T-square. But William Butterfield in this setting is unique. He is an innocent. He avoids and fears the crowd—especially the architects. He loves and clings to the Church, and to churchmen, among whom he is the architect—their architect, an architect among churchmen, not an architect among architects.

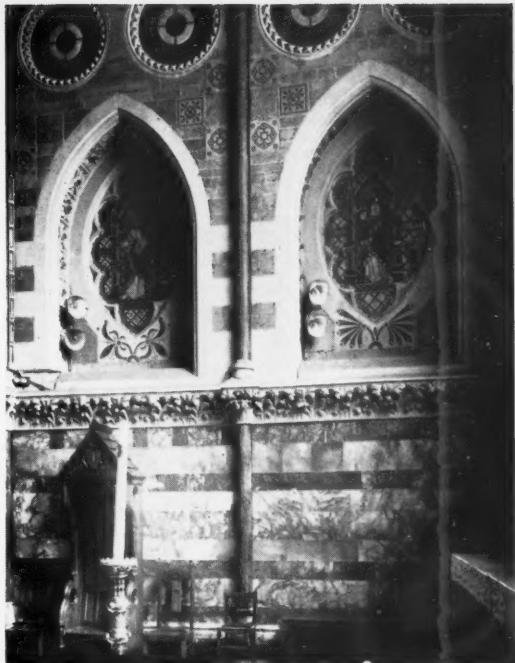
Narrowly, looking neither to right nor left, he makes his way forward. He knows how to build—he is no studio man; he can command on the site. First he is the modest, watchful apprentice of the fourteenth century; he wins men's approval and his own confidence. He is armed—and his imagination is free. In this imagination there is something of the *fauve*, something of the contemptuous joy of distortion and destruction. And in All Saints, right in the



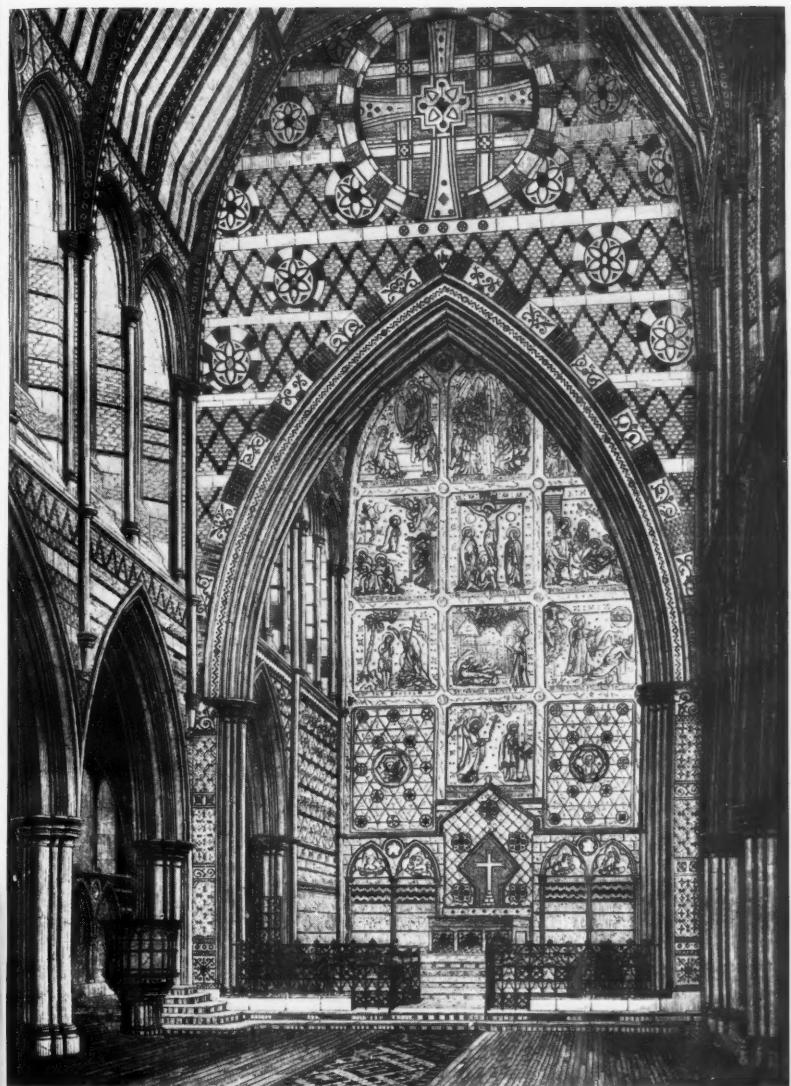
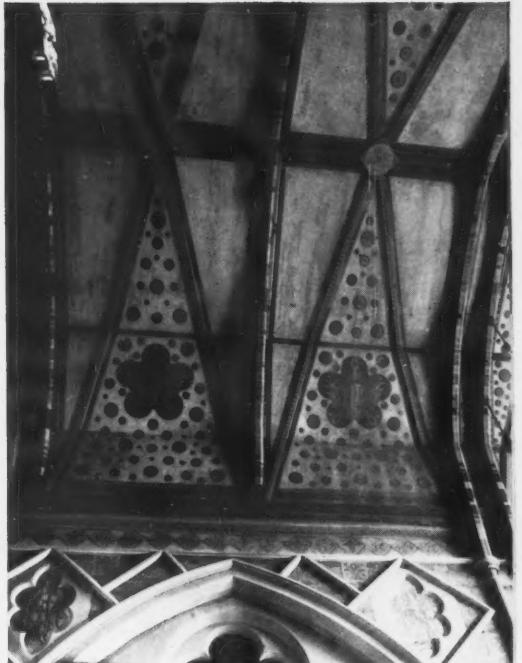
ST. MATTHIAS, STOKE NEWINGTON, 1851-53



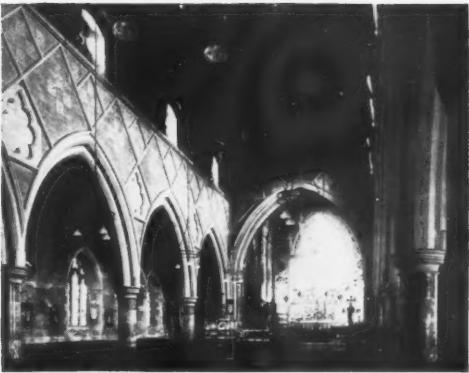
ST. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN, 1859-63



ALL SAINTS, BABBACOMBE, DEVON, 1867-74



ST. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN, 1859-63



BABBACOMBE

St. Matthias', Stoke Newington, and St. Alban's, Holborn, belong to the same sturdy and uncompromising family as All Saints. Horizontal bands of darker or lighter brick in red brick architecture are supposed to be a motif introduced by Ruskin. In fact their English use comes from Butterfield. Both St. Matthias and St. Alban's have suffered badly from the air-raids of the war.

heart of joyless London, he is able, at 34, to deal his most tremendous blow.

At this point a strange thing happens. The *fauvisme* in Butterfield releases something else—a sense of form, yes—even something very like taste, but on a quite new plane. From the hardness and ruthlessness of All Saints emerges that noble elegance which make it, in some ways, the most moving building of the century.

Butterfield's sense of form is inextricably confused with his sense of protestantism. All his architecture protests; and the trouble about our appreciation of him to-day is that we do not quite understand what he was protesting about. How can we see what Butterfield saw in a brand-new, stubbily moulded Early English shaft and capital? To us its hardness and coarseness are dull. To him its hardness and coarseness were a deeply felt protest against whatever was wiry, soft and genteel. Of course, we shall learn in time; it only remains for the Victorian perspective to become a little more distant and a little sharper and we shall over-admire Butterfield as easily as we over-admire Wren, Adam and Soane. Or shall we? I cannot help hoping that Butterfield will always be a tough nut.

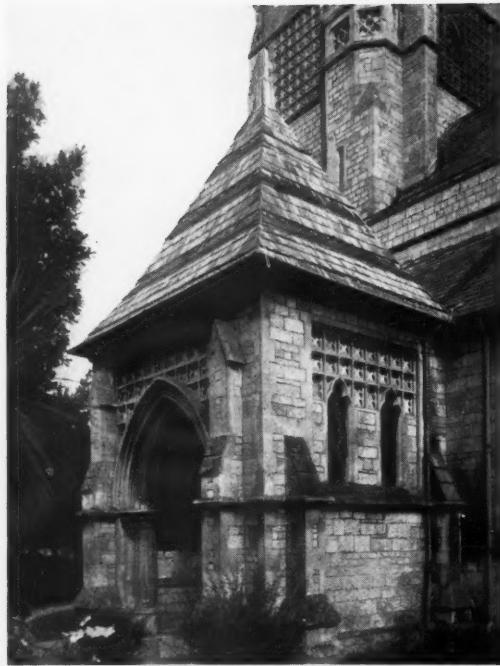
I have said that, to me, the first glory of Butterfield is his ruthlessness. The second glory is a wonderful, childish inventiveness. He was, I repeat, an innocent. His sense of composition was perfectly naïf, and resulted in things as surprising and memorable as the west ends of the Stoke Newington and Holborn churches, the nave-chancel relationship at All Saints and the curiously-formed sanctuary at Babbacombe. In decoration, too, he was often a real primitive with his zig-zags and circles and crudely coloured geometry. His painted roofs (like the one at Pinchbeck) are like huge, ingenious toys from a giant's nursery.

Lastly, one word more about Butterfield's "ugliness." It seems absolutely deliberate—even systematic: a calculated assault on the sensuous qualities latent in the simplest building-forms. Deliberately he contrives dualities; deliberately he clashes a diaper with the extrados of an arch; deliberately he fractures the raking line of a gable or the curve of a wind-brace. Is it possible, I wonder, to parallel this purposeful sadism in the whole history of architecture? Its cause, I have already suggested as lying in a pietistic revulsion from the sensuousness of the classical tradition and of the first phases of the Gothic Revival. But

what of its effect? The answer to that question must lie with the individual observer and the theory he chooses to hold as to values in the arts. If you are a professed and absolute humanist—well, there is an end of it. If not, and if the value of a work of art is, for you, inseparable from its position in time, the ugliness in Butterfield becomes an essential part of a *situation* which must be evaluated as a whole. When Butterfield's churches were new it was easy—and exciting—to feel the rightness of these hammer-blows against "taste"; fifty years later it was impossible—the situation had passed out of focus; now it is again possible

because we can look at the Victorian world from our own through the spy-glass of understanding.

To-day, we live in an age of taste. Butterfield frowns upon us from the eighteen-forties. Taste is the smiling surface of a lake whose depths are great, impenetrable and cold. At unpredictable moments the waters divide, the smooth surface vanishes and the depths are revealed. But only for a moment and the storm leaves nothing but ripples on the fresh, icy surface. Butterfield reminds us of this as we go along Margaret Street, or Queen's Gate, or the Gray's Inn Road or stand in the red umbrage of Keble.



## plans ➤

ALL SAINTS, MARGARET STREET  
ST. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN  
ST. MATTHIAS, STOKE NEWINGTON

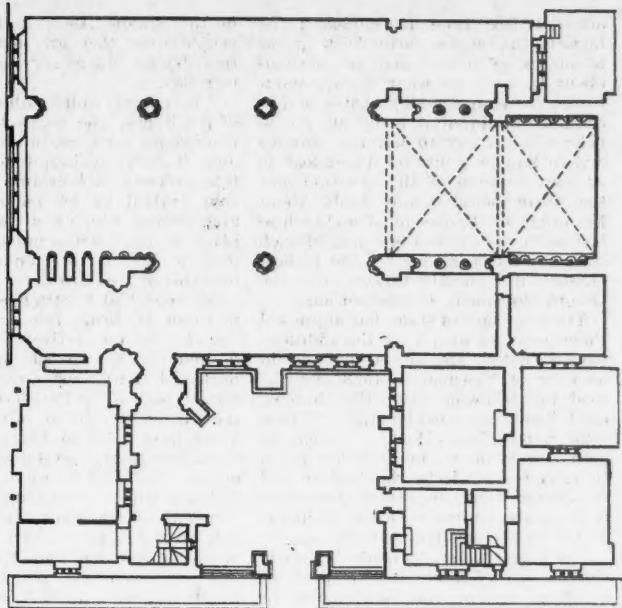
**BABBACOMBE,**  
the porch, and below the main quad of Keble College, Oxford, which was founded in 1867. The Chapel dates from 1873-76. The photograph is reproduced by permission of Country Life.



KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1867-76

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#### ALL SAINTS, MARGARET STREET

The site of All Saints is enclosed on three sides and there is only a narrow frontage to Margaret Street. Much of the dramatic effect of Butterfield's building, internal as well as external, results from these limitations. The nave is short but very high, with only three bays and uncommonly wide arcades between nave and aisles. The chancel vault rises still higher, and with the tall nave combines to achieve marked nobility and dignity. In the exterior, the exaggeration of the one buttress visible from the southern forecourt is intensely effective, emphasizing the upthrust of the whole composition, which culminates in the slender tower and spire. The tower rises from the west end of the south aisle from which it borrows a bay. Altogether, the obstacles which beset the architect were formidable, but in mastering them he created his own masterpiece and one of the most moving churches of the age.

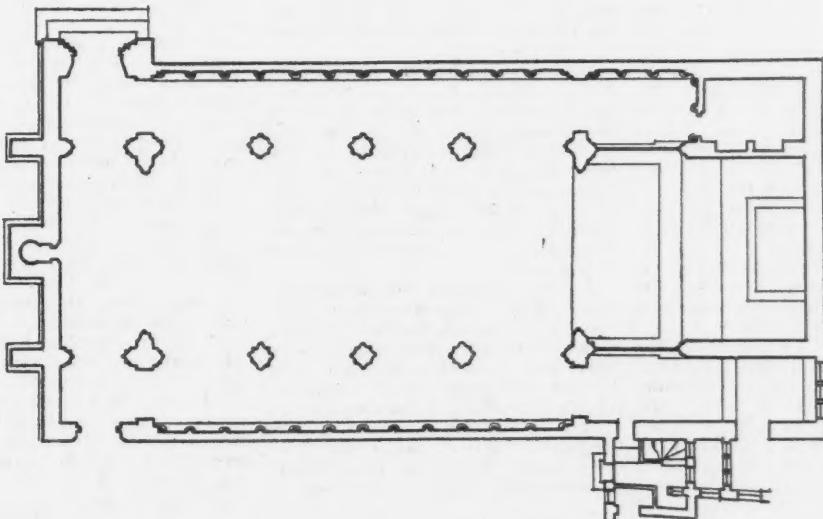
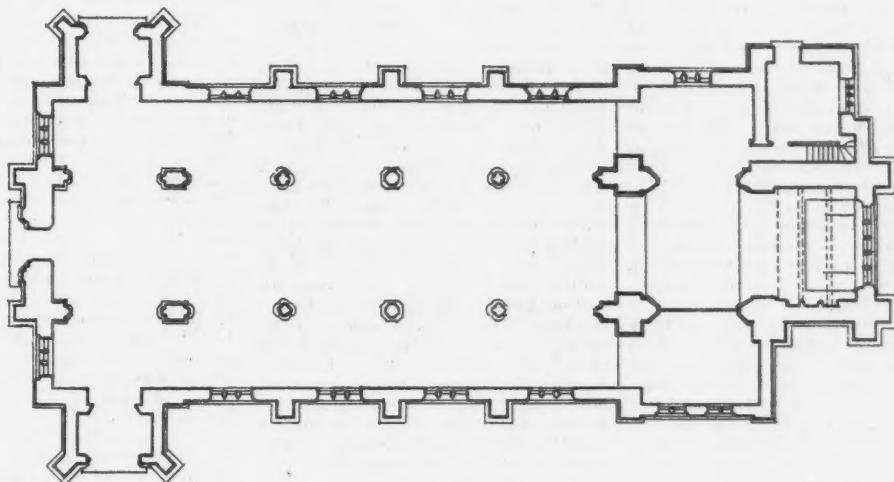
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#### ST. MATTHIAS

The plan of St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, does not differ materially from that of a fourteenth century Gothic church, though an accumulation of minor originalities ensures that it could never be mistaken for a product of any but the nineteenth century. The accommodation needed for a vestry at the north-west is, of course, the most noticeable divergence, and the way the shallow transepts are expressed at the crossing, with broad stone arches carrying them over the aisles, also deviates to a certain extent away from medieval precedent. Above ground level the building is heterodox in every respect. The internal proportions are abnormally narrow, though not to that sentimental extent which has characterised so much later church-building. The nave is covered by a timber wagon-roof, the chancel by a pointed barrel-vault with stone ribs.

#### ST. ALBAN'S

The plan of St. Alban's, Holborn, differs from that of St. Matthias principally in the widening of the nave at the expense of the aisles. The wide nave, for congregational services, presented a problem which all the Victorian church-builders had to solve. Here, Butterfield made it the opportunity for a most original handling of the west end, where a great pointed arch opens into a tower which is, in effect, a grand vestibule and narthex, inspired perhaps by the ante-chapel at Merton College, a building which Butterfield restored. Up the centre of the west end runs a buttress, as forceful and heretical as that of the entrance side of All Saints.



# A

## Act 3: Christian Gothic.

### Scene 2: Newman and Littlemore

Three events chiefly determine the character of Victorian Gothicism: Pugin's conversion and his writings, beginning with the *Contrasts* of 1835, the work of the Cambridge Camden Ecclesiologists from 1839 onwards, and the Oxford Movement—both in its ultimate Newman and Pusey forms. Pugin was an architect himself; so his effect on architects is nothing to be surprised at. The teaching of the Cambridge Ecclesiologists was so closely tied up with matters of church planning and church furnishing that architecture was also bound to be strongly affected. Of relations between the leaders of the Oxford Movement and architecture much less is known. So the last two articles of this number are devoted to churches built and designed by or for Newman and Pusey themselves. The *Tracts for the Times* began to appear in 1833. Newman's conversion took place in 1845. He built the church at Littlemore in 1835-36. Its history and significance is here for the first time discussed.

OUR dog had been absent three days from home and was at last reported in temporary residence (incidental to courtship) at the Littlemore Laundry. This gave me the occasion for a first visit, discreditably deferred, to Littlemore, a place that had meant much to me ever since my childhood. As I walked from the heights of Garsington past the "dead sea" of shattered airplanes at Cowley along the straight road that leads to Littlemore, I was watchful for objects which Newman might have seen, but the outskirts of the village were manifestly much altered, and there is little which, were he to return, he would be likely to contemplate without misgiving. To the left lies a sewage farm (he was ever impatient of undue emphasis upon sanitation), to the right, a greyhound-racing track, and, beyond this, a small airfield, which would doubtless move him to melancholy meditation. The rows of red-brick villas, placed according to some building speculator's whim, would distress his fastidious eye, less by their sheer ugliness than by the features they exhibit of a society which has abandoned its close-knit hierarchic mould in favour of a shapeless equalitarianism. The centre of Littlemore, however, he would find familiar.

Newman was connected with all three of Littlemore's historic buildings. With the most ancient, the Mynchery, the connection was one of sentiment alone. This place is a ruined Benedictine convent, or place of Mynchons, an early English word for nuns. When Newman built his own church, his love of continuity prompted him to dedicate it to St. Mary and St. Nicholas, the patron saints of the Mynchons. The foundation whose ruins so moved Newman showed symptoms, early in its history, of dissolution both in a spiritual and a material sense, for it was reported in 1445 to the Bishop's Visitor that the nuns were afraid to sleep in their dormitory lest it should fall (such was its dilapidation) during the night, while seventy-two years later the Prioress reported to his successor that some of the nuns, in defiance of her, romped with boys in the cloisters. It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that the foundation was suppressed by a Papal Bull in 1525, when its revenues were granted to Cardinal Wolsey towards the building of his great college at Oxford.

With the parish church Newman was more tangibly connected. It is frequently assumed that he was its architect; it is beyond dispute that he called it into existence, but about the precise origin of its design there is a singular conflict of evidence.

According to the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, at a meeting held at Littlemore, on Saturday, October 5, 1879, "Mr. J. H. Parker gave an account of the importance which was attached to the building of the church: it was one of the first fruits of their labour, and was originally built in exact imitation of the thirteenth century chancel of a

church at Bangor; instead of a nave being added to this, a small chancel was afterwards built to the east, and thus the original symmetry has been destroyed. . . ." John Henry Parker was the first Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum; he was closely associated, as publisher, with several of the leading figures of the Oxford Movement, and while he was sometimes led by the strength of his Gothic prejudices into an impatient and arbitrary treatment of facts, his knowledge of Gothic architecture was extensive and his interest in local manifestations of it extreme. The presumption that his account of the origin of Littlemore church was correct is, therefore, a strong one. But another and entirely contradictory account is given in the *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* of Newman's brother-in-law, the Rev. Thomas Mozley, which were published in 1882, three years after the delivery of Parker's lecture, to which they make no reference. Mozley tells us that Newman's own ideas of a village church were "simple almost utilitarian" and observes that he had little part in the great ecclesiastical and ritual revival: "all he wanted at Littlemore was capacity and moderate cost. He consulted me" continues Mozley, ". . . a happy thought occurred to me. My Northamptonshire church [at Moreton Pinkney] had a simple Early English chancel with lancet windows . . . a cousin of mine, an amateur in water colours, had made a beautiful picture of the interior. Taking drawings of this, adapting them and enlarging the scale, I produced something like a design, which was at once approved and handed to an Oxford architect to put in working form. The material was to be rough stone, dug on the spot, and the windows in Headington stone. There was to be no chancel, or vestry, or tower, or porch. The work became an object of much interest, and long before it was completed, it was evident that much more might have been done; but one of Newman's rules was to owe no man anything, not even on a church account."

As soon as the building showed what it was likely to be, it was perceived that a mistake had been committed in supposing that a design good on a small scale would be equally good on a much larger one. "However," he adds, "it became the model of many churches and chapels, and Pugin himself, after expressing high approval of it, reproduced it in the Norman style next year at Reading."

The original church (the windows and doors, Mozley elsewhere\* states, were taken from those in St. Giles' Church, Oxford) has since been added to: a tower and a chancel were built in 1848, but the present-day visitor can readily visualize the place as it must have looked in its early days, and for myself, I share Pugin's admiration rather than the misgiving of Mozley, an exceptionally diffident man. Mozley's *Reminiscences*

are not free from inaccuracies; he himself, indeed, has little faith in the memories of others and no illusions about his own, yet what he says about Littlemore church is so probable and so circumstantial that it is difficult not to believe it. A visit to Moreton Pinkney and to Bangor would no doubt lead to an easy solution of the question, but that there should be any doubt about the origin of the design of a church so historic in its associations, and of such special interest as one of the earliest architectural manifestations of the Oxford Movement, is most curious.

The simplicity of style that impressed Pugin remains, in spite of the additions already noted, the screen put up in memory of Newman in 1918 and the rood the following year, the church's most impressive quality still. "There could not be," says Mozley, "a church more devoid of ornament or less fitted to receive it." Both the builder and the glazier were displeased, according to the same author, with the plainness of the work they had to carry out.

The longer we contemplate this little church, so workmanlike, so pure in style, so austere and so English in character, and so perfectly adapted to its surroundings, the more dearly—whatever the source of the original design—does it reveal Newman's personality and his ideas on architecture.

It was characteristic that it should have been built in the Gothic style. There is reason to believe that Newman's personal preferences, at any rate at certain moments in his life, were for the Classical. Did he not somewhere say that he loved Trinity College Chapel at Oxford more than any other building? In his novel *Loss and Gain*, for instance, writing of Classical architecture, he speaks with emotion of "the line or forest of round polished columns; and the graceful dome circling above one's head like the blue heaven itself." But when one of the characters in the same book is asked "And which are you for, Gothic . . . or Rome?" He answers "for both in their place," and clearly the appropriate style for a village church in stone country on the outskirts of Gothic Oxford was the Gothic. And in any case, whatever personal predilections he may have had at one time or another, that he was intellectually persuaded of the superiority of Gothic architecture, the following passage conclusively shows. "For myself, certainly I think that the style which, whatever be its origin, is called Gothic is endowed with a profound and a commanding beauty, such as no other style possesses with which we are acquainted and which probably the Church will not see surpassed till it attain to the Celestial City."<sup>†</sup>

But to conform to his ideas, the appropriate Gothic must be Gothic of a particular kind. "The growing attention which is seen on all sides, to church architecture and church decoration" disquieted him, for he was apprehensive lest "what is really a divine gift be inadvertently used as an end rather than as a means," or as an artifice to disguise the religious poverty of the times. "Our architecture of the present day," he writes, "is a type or rather an effect, of our state of mind. . . . And we make up for our lack of meaning in the whole by stress and earnestness in the parts; we lavish decorations on bit by bit, till, what was at first unmeaning ends by being self-contradictory."<sup>‡</sup> It would have seemed to him imperative, therefore, that the utmost care be devoted to the proportions of the building itself, so that (considering the simplicity of the purposes it was intended to serve) it should have no need of decoration or ornament and, as has already been noted, there is almost none. An elaborately ornamented symbolic architecture he regarded as serving an essential purpose

in the Middle Ages, in teaching the people what they are unable to learn from books, but as serving none in his own day.

"It is surely quite within the bounds of possibility," he warns, "that, as the *renaissance* three centuries ago carried away its own day, in spite of the Church, into excesses in literature and art, so that revival of an almost forgotten architecture, which is at present taking place in our own countries . . . may in some way or other run away with us into this or that error. . . ."

Newman had to struggle persistently in order to bring into existence this church, so imperatively needed and desired by the people of a village neglected until his day. Littlemore formed part of the Parish of St. Mary's, the University Church, of which he was Vicar from 1828 to 1843. There was opposition from several quarters, among others the Parish Clerk of nearby Ifley, of whom, it was said "he buried one half of the Parish of Littlemore, and he did hope to bury the other." Work on the building, the estimated cost of which was about £660, was begun on July 15, 1835, and the first stone was laid six days later by Newman's mother; the consecration took place on September 22 of the following year. Seven years later, almost to the day, knowing that the time of his membership of the Church of England must shortly come to an end, he preached his famous last sermon there on "The Parting of Friends."

The third building in Littlemore with associations with Newman is an L-shaped single-storey row of cottages. From the year 1839, when Newman's position in Oxford became increasingly constrained, he spent more time at Littlemore, where, in May, 1840, he planned to build a monastery, a secluded place for work and meditation.

In order to save chimney, grates, etc., he discussed, it is interesting to note, the possibility of installing central heating. The monastery was never built, but Newman had in the meanwhile established himself in the row of disused stables, which he converted into a habitation for himself and a few friends and disciples, and it was to this austere and humble place that, following the publication of *Tract XC* in 1843, Newman retired and where he was pursued by the intrusive curiosity of the world. The stables were well built, but they have no intrinsic architectural interest; they would appear to have been erected not many years before he himself came to Littlemore. Except for the stone tablet on the outer wall, which records that Newman lived there, there is no memorial of the tense and anguished years of his momentous inward struggle, nor any indication that this place during all that time was the focus of the hopes and fears of a great part of the Christian world. The building which, ever since Newman's day, has been known locally as the "College" was converted, many years ago, into cottages. The benevolent old lady who resides in what were Newman's quarters made me welcome. "I know there was some as criticised him," she said, "but he was a good man: my father-in-law knew him and he always told us that." The little study is little changed since *The Development of Christian Doctrine* was written there, with the cupboards and shelves he had put up still undisturbed. The good lady pointed out a tree he had planted in the yard behind. And that other room—the room in which he took the long-awaited step, where, on October 8, 1845, Father Dominic the Passionist received him "into what I believe to be the One Fold of the Redeemer"—served before the war as the Church of England parish Reading Room and is now used for the storage of A.R.P. equipment.

JOHN ROTHENSTEIN

\* *British Critic*, Oct. 1839. 503.

† *The Idea of a University*, 82.

‡ *Essays* i, 335.

§ *The Idea of a University*, 82.







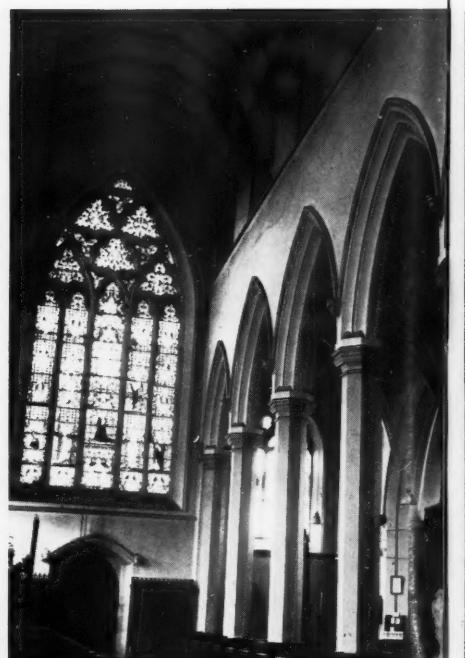
Newman was Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, from 1828 to 1843. Littlemore formed part of his parish. The little church which he built there was begun in 1835 and dedicated in 1836. The foundation stone was laid by Newman's mother, whose monument (by the younger Westmacott) now adorns the north wall. An angel is pointing at the front as it originally appeared—see the contemporary lithograph below left. The choir and screen are later additions. Close to the church was a row of disused stables (illustrated below this caption). These Newman converted into cells for himself and some close friends, and here he passed most of the anxious time between Tract XC and his conversion.



# Act 3: Christian Gothic.

## Scene 3: Pusey and Leeds

This last article is a centenary commemoration. In 1845 St. Saviour's, Leeds, was consecrated, Edward Bouverie Pusey's personal, anonymous gift. In its original plan and even its less ambitious present shape it is the one major contribution to church architecture which has come from the early Oxford Movement. The architect of St. Saviour's, John Macduff Derick, is a man of little importance. What is worth looking at and commenting upon is due to Pusey. Mr. Pace, in his article beginning on the facing page, elucidates the history of the building which had not so far been sufficiently investigated.



"THE 'Bank' district of Leeds was so called from its lying in close proximity to the north-east side of the River Aire, and occupying rising ground above the level of the river. The sides of the river, and an island in the midst were occupied by factories."<sup>11</sup> Of the twelve thousand or so inhabitants of this area only a few attended any church, the majority "lived either in gross profligacy combined perhaps with attendance at Socialistic lectures, or else in apathy and utter indifference to anything connected with the Hereafter."<sup>12</sup> As the Rev. J. Slater wrote: "The part immediately around St. James's church was inhabited, with few exceptions, by the most wretched characters! I had given me by the police a list of brothels in my district; and I was horrified to find that, in a circle of one hundred yards of which my room was the centre, there were no less than thirteen such dens."<sup>13</sup> Such was one of the thirty ecclesiastical districts into which Dr. Hook, vicar of Leeds, schemed to subdivide his enormous parish. It was in this insalubrious neighbourhood that in 1842 Dr. Pusey began the church of St. Saviour's.

This church was the pioneer effort of the Tractarians at bricks and mortar. It was also the penitential gift of the man who, more than any other perhaps, supplied the power and scholarship behind the Doctrine Revival; and in its erection, Dr. Pusey was perforce brought into contact with those active in the Ritual Revival. The condition of the Church of England at the time of the building of St. Saviour's would lead one to expect sparks to fly over any project sponsored by the Tractarians, and fly the sparks most certainly did.

During the fifteen years or so preceding the building of St. Saviour's, the vast calm in which the Church had for so long rested, had been somewhat rudely shattered. The Oxford Assize Sermon of 1833,<sup>14</sup> delivered by John Keble in the University church of St. Mary's, is usually taken as the primary manifestation of that something which was to grow into the Oxford Movement. Keble, Newman and Froude, a band of brilliant young Fellows of Oriel, formed the spearhead of a loving attack on the somnolent Church of England. In its early phase, the Movement was almost solely concerned with awakening the Church to its neglected heritage of Catholic Doctrine—the Ritual Revival and Gothic for churches was to come later. "A row in the world" was, in Froude's opinion, the crying need of the time. The row was started and sustained by the *Tracts for the Times*.

Until that on *Fasting* appeared, the Tracts had been anonymous, but Tract XVIII bore the initials E.B.P. With Pusey's advent a change is discernible, not only in the Tracts, but in the Movement itself. Newman has said, "Dr. Pusey was a host in himself: he was able to give us a name, a form and a personality to what was without him a sort of mob."<sup>15</sup> Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, was noted for his massive learning, his piety, his meekness and for the munificence of his charities. He was also blessed with desirable connections and easy relations with University authorities. 1836 witnessed a first testing of the Tractarians in Oxford. The occasion was the selection of Dr. Hampden for the Divinity Chair. The Evangelicals united with the Tractarians in striving to avert what both deemed an intolerable evil; for Dr. Hampden was considered to have uttered heresy in his *Bampton Lectures* of 1832. For their share in the protest the

Tractarians reaped from their Latitudinarian adversaries a charge of Romanizing. This charge was not as yet very serious.

Richard Hurrell Froude died a young man in 1836. A man of strong ideals, valiant spirit and slashing criticisms (with a good knowledge of Gothic too) he was "obsessed by the ideals of saintliness and convinced of the supreme importance of not eating too much."<sup>16</sup> Froude kept a journal, which after his death Keble and Newman in their innocence published.<sup>17</sup> The effect of Froude's disgust at the Reformers provoked a tremendous outcry and the charge of Romanizing was replenished with fuel. One result of Froude's *Remains* was a scheme designed to embarrass the Tractarians. This took the form of raising in Oxford a memorial to the Marian Martyrs.<sup>18</sup> The concrete result of this activity is the 1841 "Eleanor Cross," an early effort of Sir George Gilbert Scott.

Yet more ammunition was handed to their opponents by the publication, in 1837, of Tract LXXX bearing the ominous title *On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge*: the shadow of the Inquisition was clearly seen by many. But these upheavals were as nothing to the furore which followed the appearance of Tract XC. Newman was seriously perturbed as to the tenableness of Anglicanism. One result of this unrest was an examination of the Thirty-Nine Articles which he published on January 25, 1841, as No. XC in *Tracts for the Times*.<sup>19</sup> The devastating effect of this Tract both on Newman and the Movement is well known. The Tracts ceased for ever. Newman retired to Littlemore, where he remained until his secession a week or so before the consecration of St. Saviour's.

Thus briefly were the early days of the Doctrine Revival. But concurrently, at least during the latter part of this initial phase of the Movement, a revival of ritual was afoot. The newly focused attention on ritual was the logical outcome of the restatement of the Catholic nature of the dogma of the Church of England, and the "second generation" of Tractarians quickly recognized that ceremonial appropriate to the spiritual depth of the reclaimed dogma was essential. Ritually, this was taken as back to the Second year of Edward VI and architecturally, as Gothic. Pusey was not convinced that the time was ripe so early in the Movement for a revival of ritual.<sup>20</sup> While he had a rooted objection to anything likely to make individual priests conspicuous, he felt good would result from the restoration of "painted windows, rich altar cloths and communion plate." But the Ritual Revival was not to be gainsaid.

At the other University in 1839, James Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb had founded The Cambridge Camden Society. Earlier at Oxford the revival of ceremonial had been in the hands of scholars and archaeologists, of whom William Palmer was an early ornament<sup>21</sup> and Dr. John Rouse Bloxman earned the title "the father or grandfather of all ritualists." While Bloxman was one of Newman's curates at Littlemore, he arranged the altar and the east wall of the chancel.<sup>22</sup> He ceased to issue his privately printed sheets relating to Church rites and customs upon the appearance of the Ecclesiastical Society's *Hierurgia Anglicana*. By 1840 the Ritual Revival had grown to an extent to justify the issue of *An Ecclesiastical Almanack*.<sup>23</sup>

If the Doctrine Revival was laying up for itself a day of tribulation, the revival of ritual just asked for trouble. An understanding of the implications of doctrine is denied to the majority, but the rank and file Evangelicals could be relied upon to see in even the simplest ritual the herald of Popery. One of the first in the attack

was the Rev. Peter Maurice of New College Oxford.<sup>24</sup> In a lighter vein comes *A Paper Lantern for Puseyites*.<sup>25</sup> While Francis Close, later Dean of Carlisle, thundered forth his comminatory sermon *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery*.<sup>26</sup>

It was against this stormy background that St. Saviour's was conceived. "Hurrell Froude had urged in the early days that the Movement must set to work to Christianize the neglected classes in the cities."<sup>27</sup> Pusey, too, felt the need for building new churches in the greater towns to be of special importance.<sup>28</sup> He and his wife—she sold much of her jewellery to do so—had given £5,000 to Bishop Blomfield's fund for new churches in London's east end.<sup>29</sup>

As an individual Pusey had been accused of Romanizing and of heresy—for which he had been suspended for two years from preaching to the University. He had borne the brunt of many secessions, the long-drawn-out agony of Newman trembling on the brink; above all, in 1839, his dearly loved wife died and "from that hour the world became to him a different world." While St. Saviour's was abuilding Pusey suffered the loss of his daughter Lucy. "He looked upon his wife's death as a chastisement for sins of his own," so it is not surprising to find him writing to Dr. Hook, vicar of Leeds:—

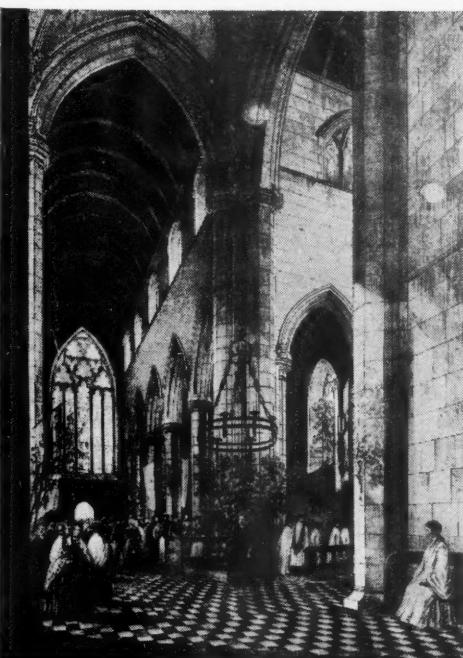
14th August, 1839.

"I know a person who wishes in such degree as he may, if he lives, to make up a broken vow, in amount if not in act. It would amount to about £1,500. It would be a long time before it could be raised, as it must be raised probably out of income. Supposing it was ever raised, would it build you an Oratorium, such as you wish? The only condition which the person wishes to annex is an inscription such as this, 'Ye who enter this holy place, pray for the sinner who built it,' to which I suppose there would be no objection. If you approve of it, as soon as any money comes in to him available for this purpose, it shall be paid to your account through me, and might gradually accumulate so as to raise somewhat above the £1,500, if he should live, or make a nucleus for building a chapel, if he should not."<sup>30</sup>

Pusey had heard that following the destruction of convents in Spain, second-hand churches could be bought for a song. If such a remnant could be obtained, Dr. Hook considered it would be more beautiful than any church the English could make for the same sum and the Aire would provide a ready means of transportation to the very centre of Leeds. This scheme came to nothing. The "Bank" site was purchased in 1840. Pusey writes to Dr. Hook in the February of the following year: "How large should Z's church be? He wishes to have no galleries: his notion was, if he cannot get anything from abroad, to begin on a plan which might admit of embellishment subsequently: if he lives long enough he would gladly spend £6,000 on it." John Macduff Derick was chosen as architect<sup>31</sup> and by July of next year tenders were received.

Externally, much of the minutiae still remains uncarved.<sup>32</sup> Basil Clarke says that "the whole of the church was intended to have 'something of the proportions of a foreign cathedral.'" Mr. Goodhart-Rendel sees in these proportions a Pugin influence.<sup>33</sup> Certainly, the interior is very tall in relation to the width. This elongation is most noticeable at the crossing and in the chancel. Originally a heavy wooden screen shut off the chancel from the nave: truly a stronghold of a chancel that must have delighted Pugin. This heavy screen was removed and adapted to fit the north porch in 1890 and a lighter screen erected in its place.

*Facing page, top left: the exterior from the north-west, in a recent photograph and an early lithograph. The upper stage of the tower was added in 1937: the spire was never built. According to the original design tower and spire were to be modelled on the example of St. Mary's, Oxford. Below, from left to right: interior looking east, the Pusey Memorial Chapel by Bodley, interior looking west, and a lithograph looking west, drawn shortly before the consecration.*





The nave looking east, with the heavy original chancel screen and the corona at the crossing. The lithographs on this and the preceding pages were published by S. Morris of Leeds.

Much good furniture and other ameliorations have come from the hands of Bodley, Temple Moore and Leslie Temple Moore. The Pusey Memorial Chapel is by Bodley. Derick's original conception included a central tower and spire.<sup>24</sup> This was omitted, but a few years ago external significance was given to the crossing.

But feelings were running high in Leeds. Dr. Hook deemed it inadvisable for Pusey to be present at the laying of the foundation stone. The building went on slowly: Z's money had to accumulate. Meanwhile, Pusey immersed himself in the details of the church. Upton Richard introduced him to Benjamin Webb and, of course, Pusey already knew Bloxman. There was no precedent, every detail of the building and its furnishings had to be hammered out from first principles. The *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* was not yet available and another five or six years were to pass before All Saints, Margaret Street, the Ecclesiological Society's model church, was even started. Pusey's correspondence<sup>25</sup> with Webb on the question of the treatment of the reredos is of special interest and shows the difference of approach to such a subject, as between those primarily concerned with doctrine and those with ritual.

Clifton,

F. of Holy Innocents, 1843.

"I should be very sorry to go against any decided feeling of those who are doing so much for Church architecture; yet I cannot but think that, however it may have been brought about that we have the Commandments, Creed, and our Lord's Prayer near the altar, there is much good in it. You will feel that in reviving what is old we are not to disregard the actual position of the Church. Needs may have arisen and have been providentially provided for, even by uncatholic means. . . . Now, I suppose, in many ways the use of the Ten Commandments is and has been of great benefit to our Church. . . . All thoughtful people also seem to have felt that what we have most need to be anxious about in this revival of our Church is lest this mighty stirring of men's minds be wasted through want of sternness with self, and that there is a danger in the very beauty of holiness without its severity. I cannot but think that the Ten Commandments, with their strict warning voice, are far more valuable to us, as attendants on the altar, than images or pictures or tapestry would be. Since also they were placed in the Ark, I do not see why they should not stand in a place of honour under canopies. They are God's words, and represent what his hand traced: since then a canopy is a conventional mark of dignity, I do not think the ecclesiologist has ground for objecting to their being put under them.

I write this in self-defence, for I had been much impressed with the

arrangement at Littlemore,<sup>26</sup> in which, as perhaps you know, three (canopies) occupy the centre behind the altar, of which again the centre contains the cross: two on each side of the three centre (canopies) contain the Ten Commandments, etc. This tends to revive the mystical meaning of numbers. . . . I had consequently asked Mr. Derick to design a reredos of some richness (which as well as the altar, was to be painted), the three richest canopies encompassing the altar. The cross again being specially suited to Holy Cross Church,<sup>27</sup> I own I should be very unwilling to give up this, for I think it may still be a valuable characteristic of our Church: still, I should like to know what your feelings are about it."

For the glass Pusey "wished to go back to the austerity and simplicity of the older school of painting, yet with the correctness of drawing and beauty of outline and countenance in which ancient glass was defective." Through Webb,<sup>28</sup> Pusey offered a design for the great west window; the window with the representation of the "Holy Face" of Our Lord, which later was to be removed at the order of the Bishop.<sup>29</sup> Pusey was also responsible for the glass of the Martyr's and the Passion windows in the south and the north transepts.

Having been assailed on all sides for Romanizing, having battled faithfully with ecclesiastical minutiae and instrumenta, Pusey was next called upon to bear the displeasure of Authority in the person of Dr. Longley.<sup>30</sup> St. Saviour's was consecrated on October 28th, 1845, but before it took place, Dr. Longley had certain objections to make. He would not allow a dedication to Holy Cross, or consent to carry out the ceremony on that day, as his action might be misconstrued. The college for resident priests came in for rough handling: "It savoured too much of a monastic institution . . . there was no provision for wife and—hinted though not expressed—no nurseries." It was with difficulty that his Lordship was prevailed upon to allow Pusey's cherished inscription to remain. Episcopal displeasure was directed against the cross over the chancel screen, to the altar linen and to the inscription on the altar plate—partly the gift of and partly a memorial to Lucy Pusey. A complaint reached the Bishop about Pugin's "Holy Face" in the west window. Dr. Longley seems to have forgotten that he had approved the design, for he writes to Pusey: "As I have made this *discovery* of subjects being introduced of which I never had any distinct intimation, I shall feel it my duty to inspect the church myself, previous to consecration, in order to see that other matters of the same kind have not occurred."<sup>31</sup> This moved Pusey to a spirited reply: "I have told your Lordship or shown your Lordship everything about which you asked. Your Lordship asked for the drawings and I sent them. You

wished to see everything for yourself, and I sent them. I really cannot think that it was for me to set myself to think what your Lordship might object to, and perhaps awake objections by so doing. . . . Your Lordship asked me to let you yourself see these drawings and as you returned them without any objection, I concluded that you objected to nothing."<sup>32</sup> As Lady Lucy Pusey put it: "It would have saved expense and vexation if the Bishop had done this before."

The early history of St. Saviour's continued to bristle with difficulties. Vicar followed vicar at short intervals, priest after priest seceded, the parish was smitten by plague and famine, until 1859 saw installed an inert, casual, even slovenly priest, who ushered in a welcome period of repose. The scandal-mongers then forsook St. Saviour's and, unmolested, the next incumbent started a great and continuing parochial work: truly a pioneer church.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> *The Church Revival*, by S. Baring Gould, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 266, 267.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> *National Apostasy* reprinted in *Sermons Academic and Occasional*, John Keble, 1847.

<sup>5</sup> *Apologia*, by J. H. Newman, pp. 136, 137.

<sup>6</sup> *Eminent Victorians*, by Lytton Strachey, Essay on Cardinal Manning.

<sup>7</sup> *The Remains of the Late Rev. R. H. Froude*, edited by J. Keble and J. Newman, 1838.

<sup>8</sup> A. W. N. Pugin joined the fray with *A letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial to Crammer, Ridley and Latymer: addressed to the Subscribers and the Promoters of that Undertaking*. It must have delighted his Tractarian friend, W. G. Ward.

<sup>9</sup> Remarks on certain passages in *The Thirty-nine Articles*.

<sup>10</sup> See Pusey's letter to Bishop Tate of London on his attitude to ritualism in the early days of the Movement: *Life of E. B. Pusey*, by Dr. Liddon, vol. iv, p. 211, and also generally vol. ii, pp. 142, 143.

<sup>11</sup> *Origines Liturgicae*, 1832.

<sup>12</sup> For a contemporary and adverse criticism see Ollard's *Short History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 161.

<sup>13</sup> In 1842 the Rev. Bernard Smith, a Tractarian friend of Pugin and rector of Leadenham, Lincs, was using a processional crucifix, an altar cross and altar lights and celebrated the Eucharist wearing a maniple.

<sup>14</sup> *Popery in Oxford*, by the Rev. Peter Maurice, 1833.

<sup>15</sup> Appeared in 1843.

<sup>16</sup> This sermon was preached in 1844 and followed in the same year by *Church Architecture Scripturally Considered*.

<sup>17</sup> Ollard's *Short History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 111.

<sup>18</sup> In 1843 Pusey had corresponded with Newman on the subject of building colleges for twelve priests, to be attached to the major churches in great cities: *Pusey's Life*, vol. ii, p. 36 *et seq.*

<sup>19</sup> *Church Building and Endowment Fund*, 1836.

<sup>20</sup> Pusey's *Life*, vol. ii, p. 468. It was not until after Pusey's death that it was generally known St. Saviour's was his gift.

<sup>21</sup> It would be interesting to know who introduced Derick to Pusey. Derick does not appear to have enjoyed any great reputation as an architect. The D.N.B. is silent. Basil Clarke gives a few brief biographical details in *English Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*. The *Builder*, 1861, contains an obituary notice and a further note by W.P.—presumably Wyatt Papworth. Derick has been credited with the following churches besides St. Saviour's, Leeds: St. James, Birch-in-Rusholme, Manchester; St. Mary's, Eisey (Latton) Wilts.; St. John the Evangelist, Marchwood, Hants.; and to a greater or lesser degree, West Molesley, Surrey; St. Mark's, Pensett (Kingswinford), Staffs.; Holy Trinity, Over Worton, Oxon.; and St. Mary's, Benefield, Northants. He also built several churches in North Ireland and America.

<sup>22</sup> Pusey's *Life*, vol. ii, p. 471. "He proposed at first to spend £3,000 on solid stonework, only so much being carved as to avoid unsightliness."

<sup>23</sup> *English Gothic Architecture of the Nineteenth Century*, by H. Goodhart Rendel, R.I.B.A. Journal, 1924.

<sup>24</sup> Pusey's *Life*, vol. ii, p. 474. Pusey's

letter to Dr. Hook, 27th Sept., 1842:—"Z probably will never be able to build tower and spire . . . handsome embellishments such as a tower and spire ought to be, should be done in a noble way."

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from Pusey's *Life*, vol. ii, pp. 476, 477.

<sup>26</sup> See also Footnote 12.

<sup>27</sup> The original choice of dedication.

<sup>28</sup> In connection with St. Saviour's it is interesting to note that Pugin designed the seal of the Ecclesiological Society. 1840 saw him frequently at Oxford in the company of Oakley, Faber, Dalgairens and Bloxman. The corporate reunion of the Church of England with Rome was very dear to him and he acted as the link between the Oxford Movement and Cardinal Wiseman. Bloxman has placed on record that the appearance of Tract XC was such a disappointment to Pugin that it contributed materially to the illness from which he eventually died. It was whilst staying with Bloxman in 1842 that Pugin met "that glorious man" W. G. Ward, then Fellow of Balliol. At Oxford Pugin also met Bernard Smith (see also Footnote 13) who was his helper with the *Glossary*, and whose chancery at Leadenham Pugin restored and embellished with his own hand.

<sup>29</sup> Pusey writing to Webb says about Pugin's design: "I like his design. The only thing about which one can have doubts is the introduction of the 'Holy Face.' . . . There are two remaining in Cirencester Church." *Life*, vol. ii, p. 478.

<sup>30</sup> At this time Bishop of Ripon but to be translated via Durham and York to Canterbury.

<sup>31</sup> Pusey's *Life*, vol. ii, p. 483.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p. 483.

**G. G. PAGE**

**The Architectural Review**  
Gothic Number

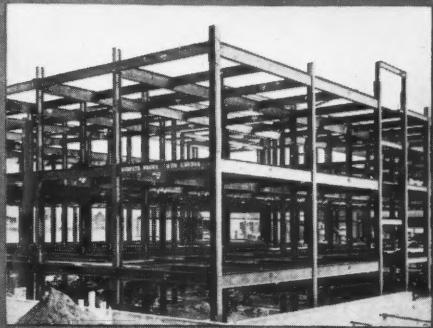
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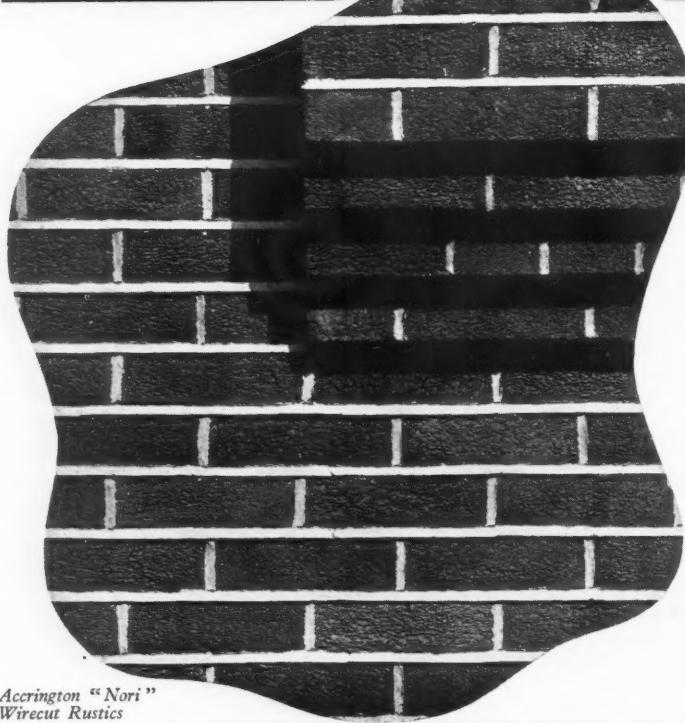
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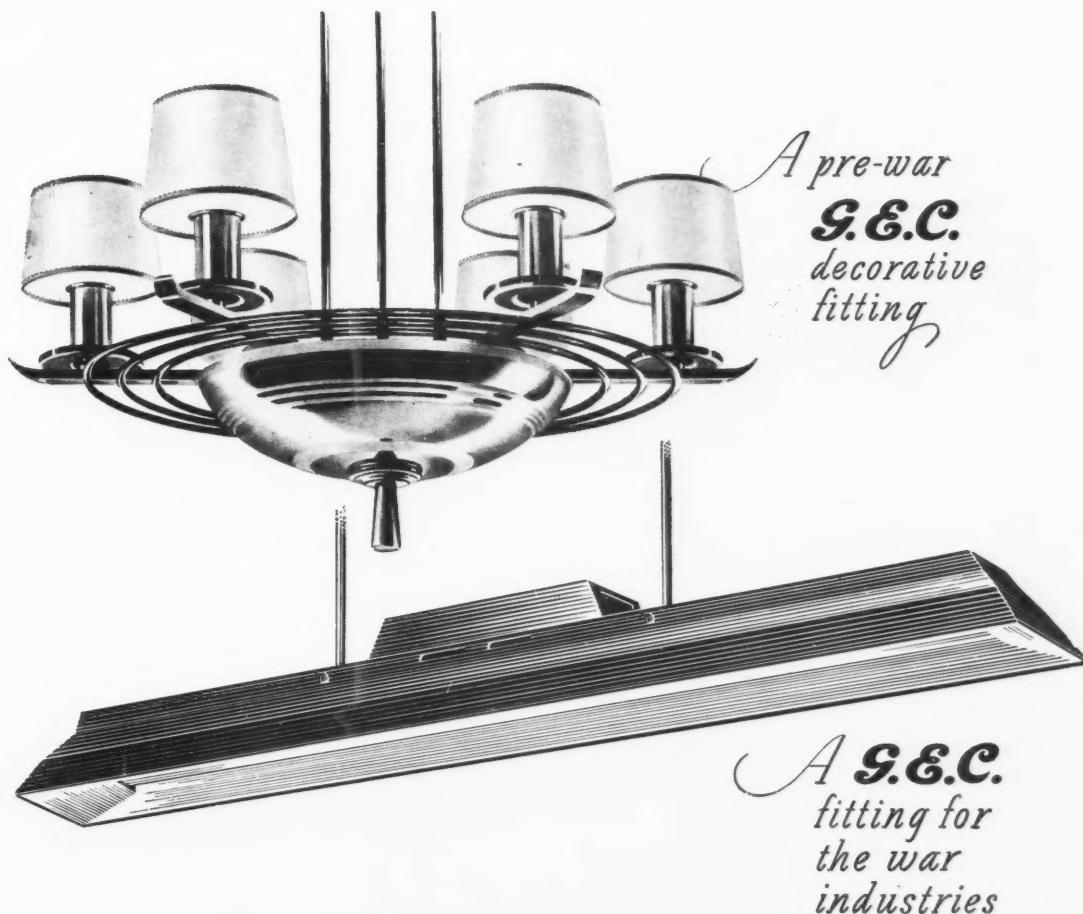
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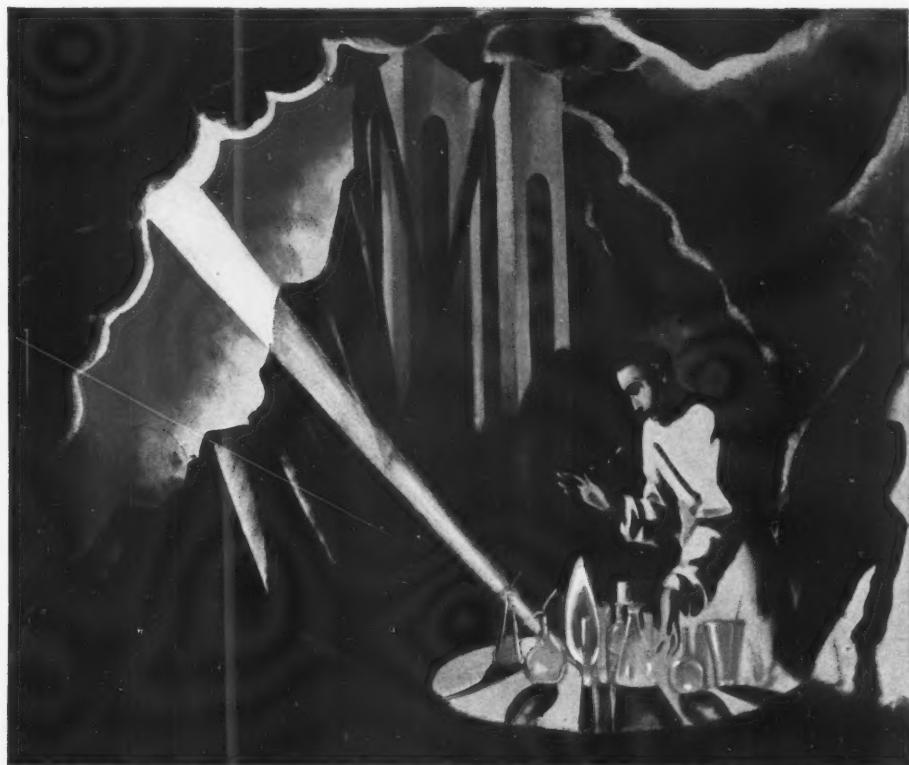
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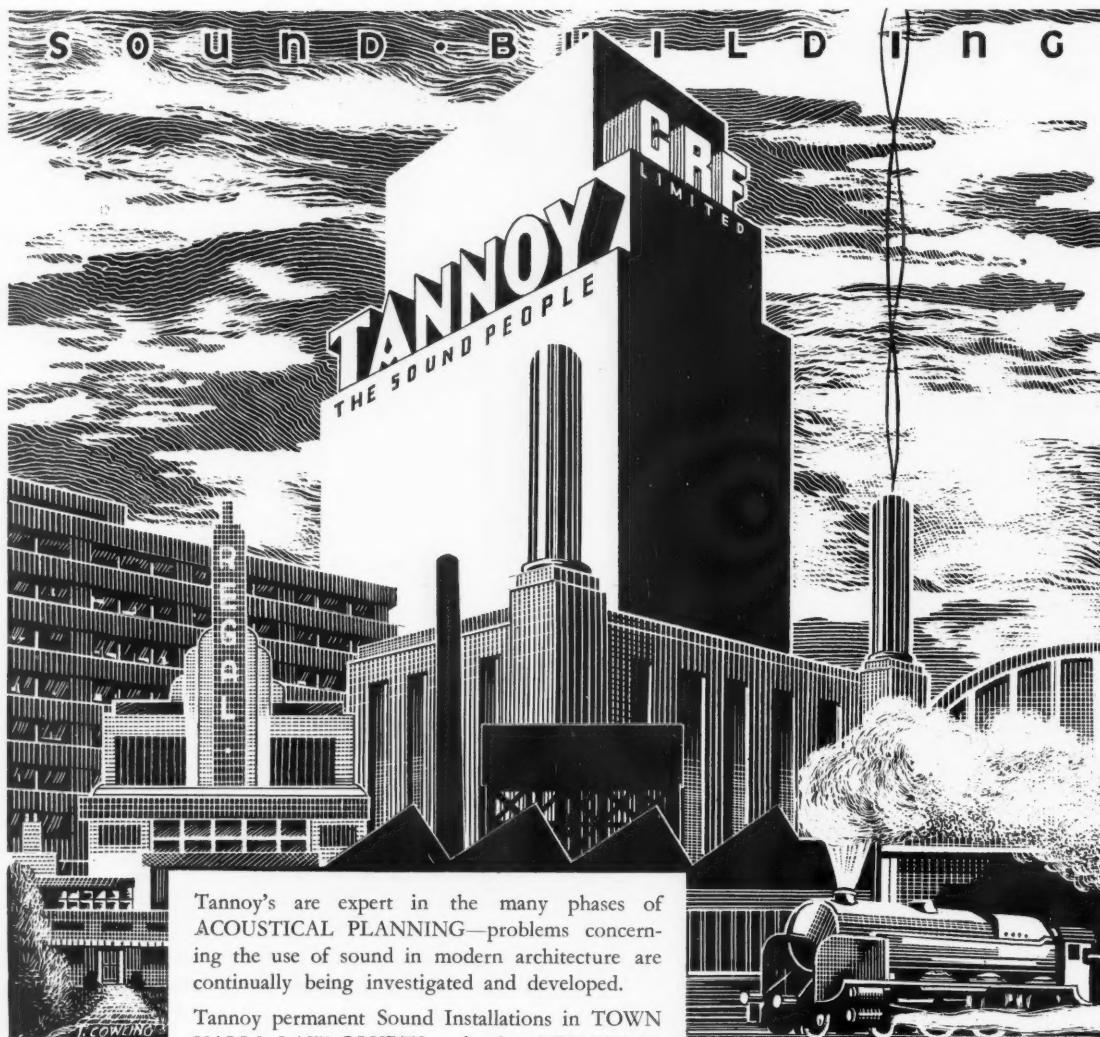
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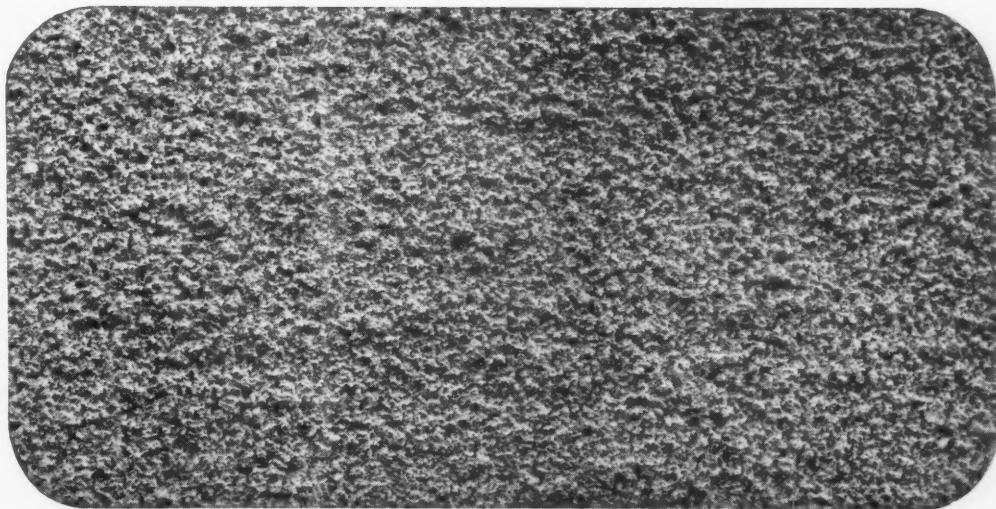




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*We have conducted large-scale trials for many years and can safely affirm that there is no process for rustproofing steel windows that can hold a candle to hot-dip galvanizing.*

*We have bars under observation which have been exposed in Birmingham for 25 years without corrosion.*

*The process would have been in more general use years ago, but for certain technical difficulties which have been overcome by a new type of plant we have installed at our Wednesbury Works.*

**HENRY HOPE & SONS LIMITED**  
HALFORD WORKS, SMETHWICK, BIRMINGHAM  
LONDON: 17 BERNERS STREET, W.1



*“Staybrite”* for ARCHITECTURAL  
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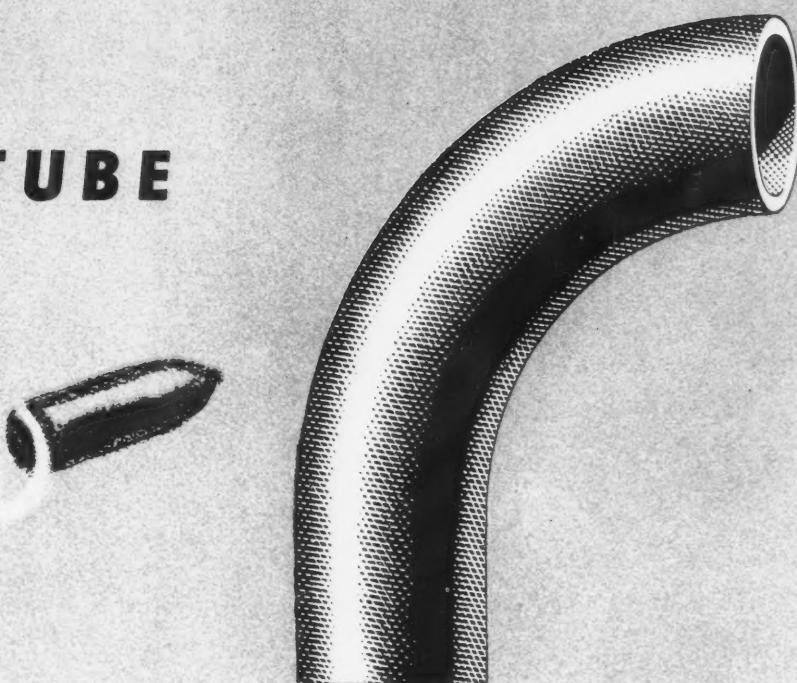


**FIRTH-VICKERS STAINLESS STEELS LTD SHEFFIELD**

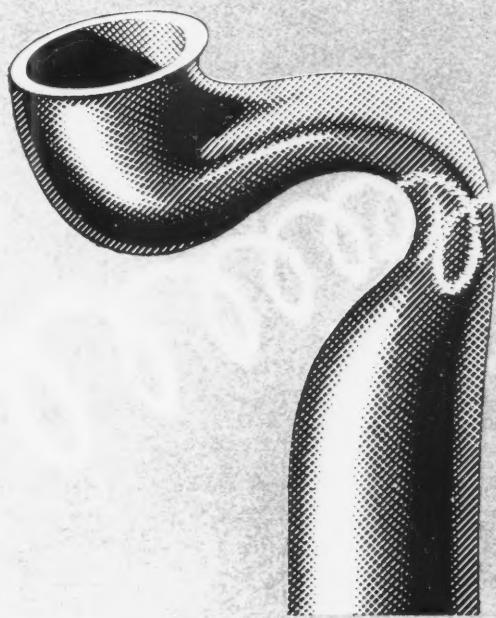




# STEEL TUBE



## TAKES A KNOCK



## AND MAKES A BOW

This 1" steel tube, as part of a corvette's boilers, paid a visit to Dieppe in 1942 where it was hit on the bend by a 20 mm. Oerlikon H.E. shell. The force of impact almost closed the walls of the tube, and bent it in the opposite direction. Although the boiler was steaming at 700 lb. per square inch pressure at the time, the tube continued to function.

Architects are not particularly interested in ships' boilers, but they are concerned with many problems where great strength and extreme lightness must go hand-in-hand. The various manufacturers in the Tube Investments Group of Companies produce between them a range of tubes in steel and alloys to cover every such need.

**TUBE INVESTMENTS LTD.**  
ASTON - BIRMINGHAM



**FOOTNOTE:** Boiler manufactured by Messrs. John Thompson Water Tubes Boilers Ltd.; Steel tube supplied by Tubes Ltd.



## We're sick of being modest . . .

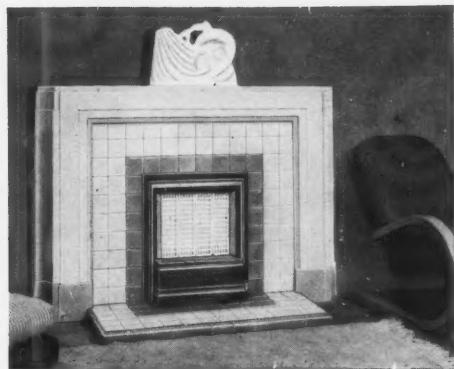
We're sick of hearing that the Germans lead the world with camera lenses and optical equipment. How is it that our aircraft cameras are far in advance of our enemies? How is it that Hollywood films are shot through British lenses? How is it that most of the lighthouses in the world were designed and made in England? The answer is that the finest optical glass in the world is made in England by Chance Brothers and, darn it, we're proud of it.

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CHANCE BROTHERS LTD., Glass-makers since 1824, produce Optical Glass, Pressed Glassware, Laboratory Glassware, Rolled Plate, Wired Glass, Architectural, Decorative & Lighting Glassware, Scientific & other specialised Glass Products, Marine & Aviation Lighting Equipment. Head Office: Smethwick, Birmingham. London Office: 10, Princes Street, Westminster, S.W.1 Scottish Works: Firhill, Glasgow, N.W.







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*Design of unusual merit associated with advanced technical efficiency will continue to be characteristic qualities of the products of Bratt Colbran when peace-time manufacture is resumed.*

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will it jump?*

It is through no lack of initiative that this Company is waiting to see how the future of the joinery industry will shape before making any categorical announcement of policy; but it does mean that — regrettably — large orders cannot be filled for the time being. In making this statement we seek only to spare our clients the trouble of writing, and ourselves the sad duty of declining, orders for our Standard Joinery. But as soon as the cat has jumped we shall lose no opportunity to advise the trade of our plans.

## Midland Woodworking

**COMPANY LIMITED • MELTON MOWBRAY**

*Craftsmen in Domestic Joinery*

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The resemblance between the flex of your telephone and a length of 'Isteg' is a pure coincidence. Neither was copied from the other. But both have this in common—they can save consulting engineers quite a lot of time and trouble. Because of the higher stresses permitted when it is used, 'Isteg' shows a saving of one third in the weight of steel normally required—which is just as well, considering that

steel is likely to be a high priority material for some years to come. Being keyed to the concrete throughout its entire length 'Isteg' needs neither hooks nor overlengths and minimises the cracking problem. 'Isteg' is backed up by a first class service controlled by people who know how to interpret your requirements in a way which will be appreciated by all Consulting Engineers who specify 'Isteg.'



Manufactured by GUEST, KEEN & NETTLEFOLDS, LIMITED, CARDIFF.

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THE UNITED STEEL COMPANIES LTD., SHEFFIELD

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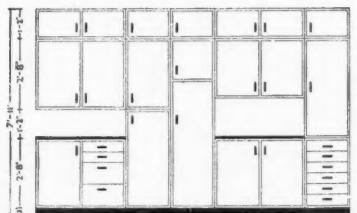
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## STANDARD KITCHEN UNITS



The EJMA range of kitchen units is designed to give a work top 3 ft. high, wall cupboards 13 or 18 inches above this top, with dead storage space above to make up the remaining ceiling height. Large or small, new or old, any kitchen can be equipped with an efficient and unified arrangement.

This diagram shows how the heights of the various units have been arranged to give the fullest range of possible combinations for units.

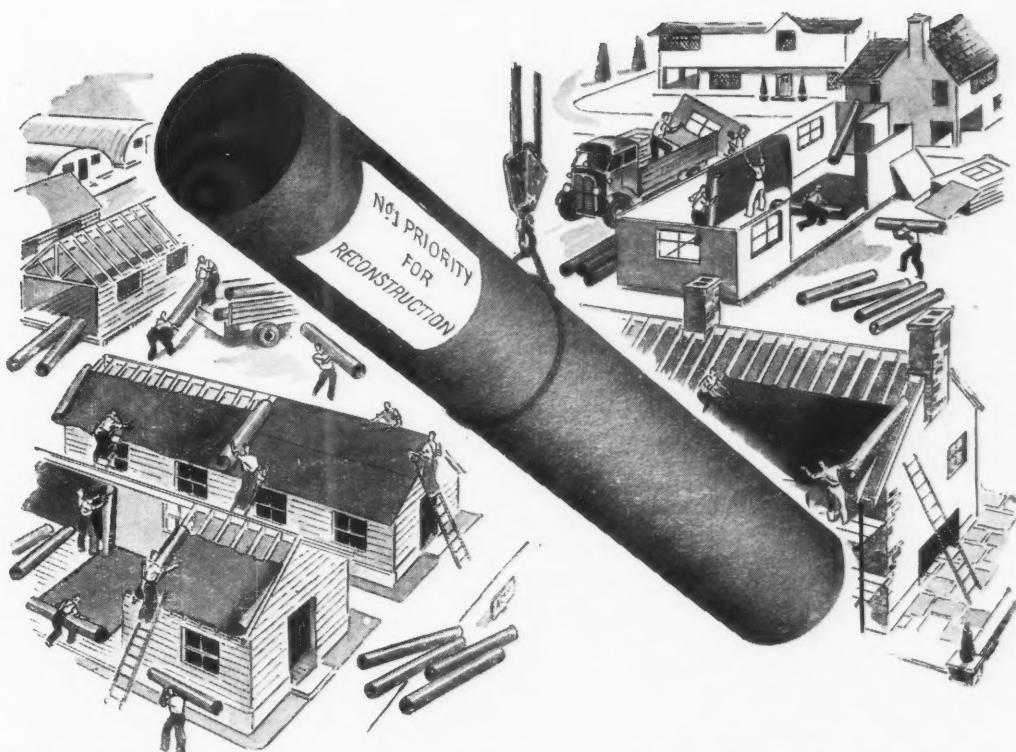


Each single unit is 1 ft. 9 in. wide.  
Each double unit is 3 ft. 6 in. wide.  
Each wall unit is 1 ft. 0 in. deep.  
Each floor unit is 1 ft. 7 in. deep.



THE  
**ENGLISH JOINERY MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION**  
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Soon Sisalkraft — vast quantities of it — will be needed for Britain's reconstruction programme to control dampness . . . dirt . . . and to banish draughts. Sisalkraft will provide all that is needed for the efficient sacking of roofs . . . damp-proof linings for walls and under floors . . . perfect hydration of concrete-mix and the sealing of porous subsoils . . . protection for work in progress and materials in transit. Sisalkraft will prove to be

Britain's bulwark against damp and draughts in temporary housing schemes and permanent estates.

Sisalkraft is not an emulsion-impregnated sheet of brown paper. It is an unusually strong material (practically untearable) a fusion of pure bitumen and two sheets of extra-tough Kraft paper reinforced with crossed Sisal fibres; that is why Sisalkraft is consistently used by Government Departments, Municipal Authorities, and Public Works Contractors . . . and why Sisalkraft Standard Grade for post-war use will play such an important part in future reconstruction plans. Write to-day (enclosing 1d. stamp) for full technical details.

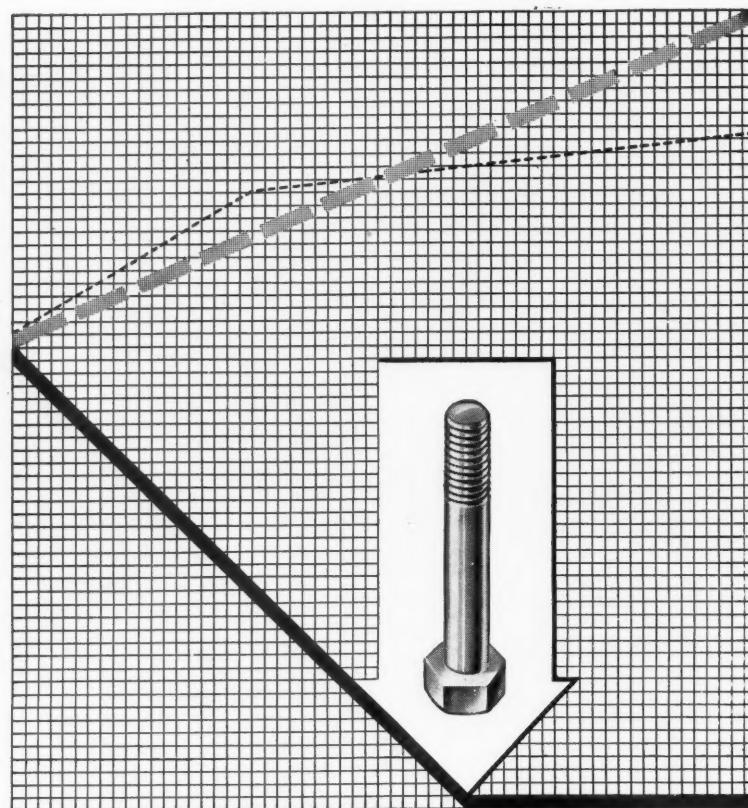


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**I**N the offensive against rising costs, architects are ever-conscious, not only of the comparative prices of bricks and mortar, of steel and concrete, but also of little things — the little things that mean so much — the Bolts, the Screws, the Rivets and the hundred-and-one other small fastenings vital to building and engineering.

The Linread Organisation, specialising in the Cold Forging process, can speak with authority on the economical supply of small fastenings. For Cold Forging cuts production costs by saving up to 70% of the raw material; at the same time it adds strength to the finished product by retaining the Grain Flow of the metal.

Linread production goes far beyond a standard range of precision-made parts: in many cases by co-operating with manufacturers and architects special parts have been developed, thus eliminating hold-ups and other difficulties.

May we tell you — or the engineers with whom you are in consultation — more about this service?

ROLL THREADED  
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the full benefit of London Brick Company's vast  
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**BRISTOL DEPOT:** Ashley Hill Goods Depot (G.W.R.), Ashley Hill. Telephone: Bristol 46572

# ALUMINIUM ALLOYS

**cut maintenance costs  
here...**

*-why not for  
your projects?*

THE cost of a Wireless Mast—or a Bridge—or an electricity Pylon—does not end when it has been placed in service. On the contrary, there is an annual bill for maintenance to be met, depending upon the material that has been used in its construction.

Do not overlook the fact that this heavy expenditure is merely an insurance against premature decay—it doesn't enable the wireless mast to increase its traffic, the bridge to carry more passengers or the pylon to distribute more current.

With ever-mounting maintenance costs in mind, engineers are now thoroughly sold on the advantages of aluminium. For here is a metal that is ideal for all exposed uses. Its high strength Alloys are as strong as structural steel yet only one-third its weight. They cannot rust and they are unaffected by polluted atmospheres. Experience has proved that the invisible oxide film on the surface of the metal provided by Nature ensures life-long protection against all forms of corrosion.

Whatever your post-war plans it is probable that a more extensive use of Aluminium Alloys will make your production more efficient and your product more saleable. We can help you with technical facts, figures and helpful advice.

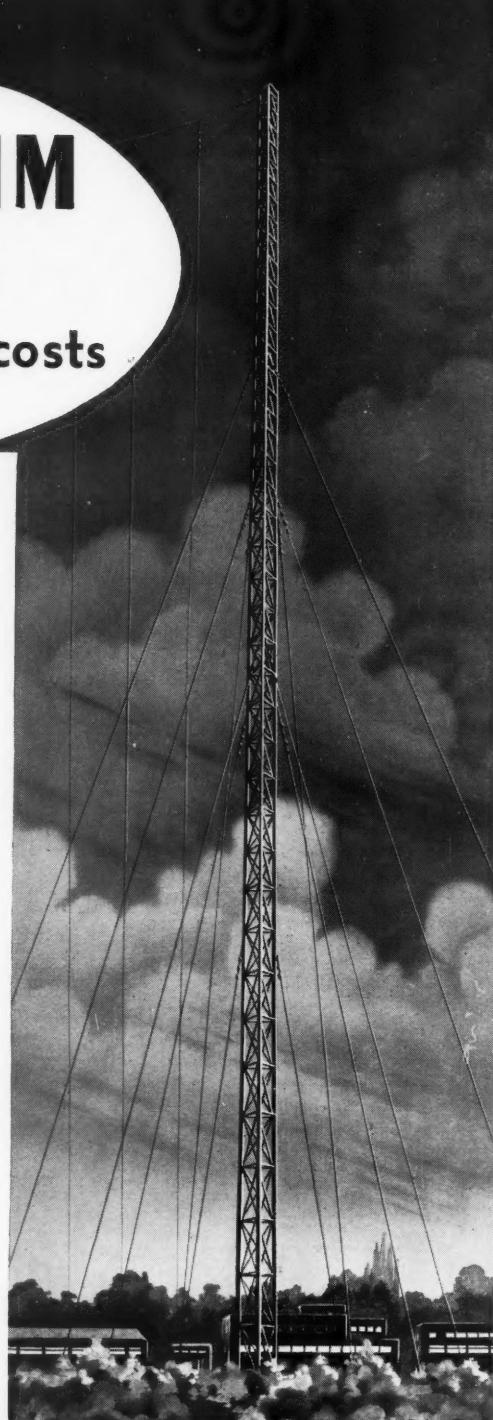
## ALUMINIUM DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

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**ALUMINIUM ALLOYS do not rust • require less painting • are corrosion proof  
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## SURFACE FINISHES FOR CAST IRON



There are hundreds of uses in modern building and equipment for this old, reliable, but thoroughly up-to-date material.

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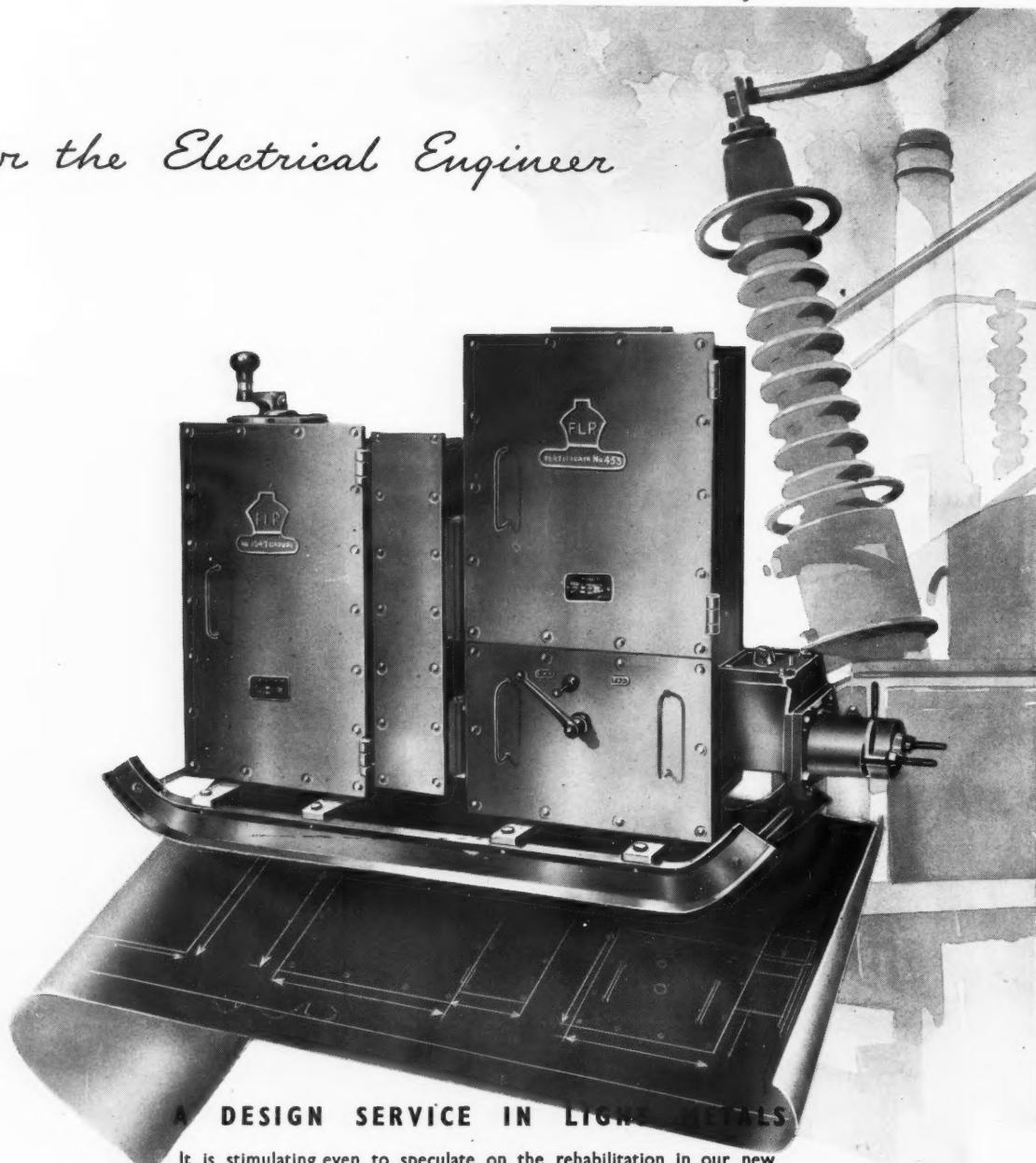
ISSUED BY THE BRITISH IRONFOUNDERS' ASSOCIATION, 145 ST. VINCENT STREET, GLASGOW, C.2

**Facts about the Building Uses of Cast Iron** The British Cast Iron Research Association has a Building Uses Department which is available for dealing with enquiries from architects and builders about cast iron. Mr. Derek L. Bridgewater, F.R.I.B.A. is Consultant to the Department.

Enquiries should be addressed to:

**The Building Uses Department, British Cast Iron Research Association,  
Alvechurch, Birmingham**

For the Electrical Engineer



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It is stimulating even to speculate on the rehabilitation in our new highly competitive world, of the most commonplace structure or product in terms of Light Metals. To give an idea form, to quicken the pace of attaining the full functional value of a mechanical product, Hiduminium Applications Ltd., (designers to great organisations in the light metal industry) invite manufacturers and others to share their experience and facilities in design and consultation. Further information on request.

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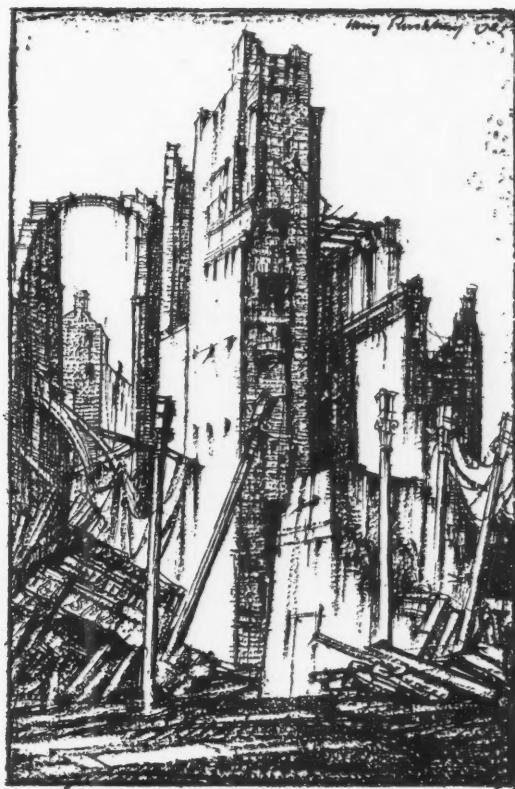
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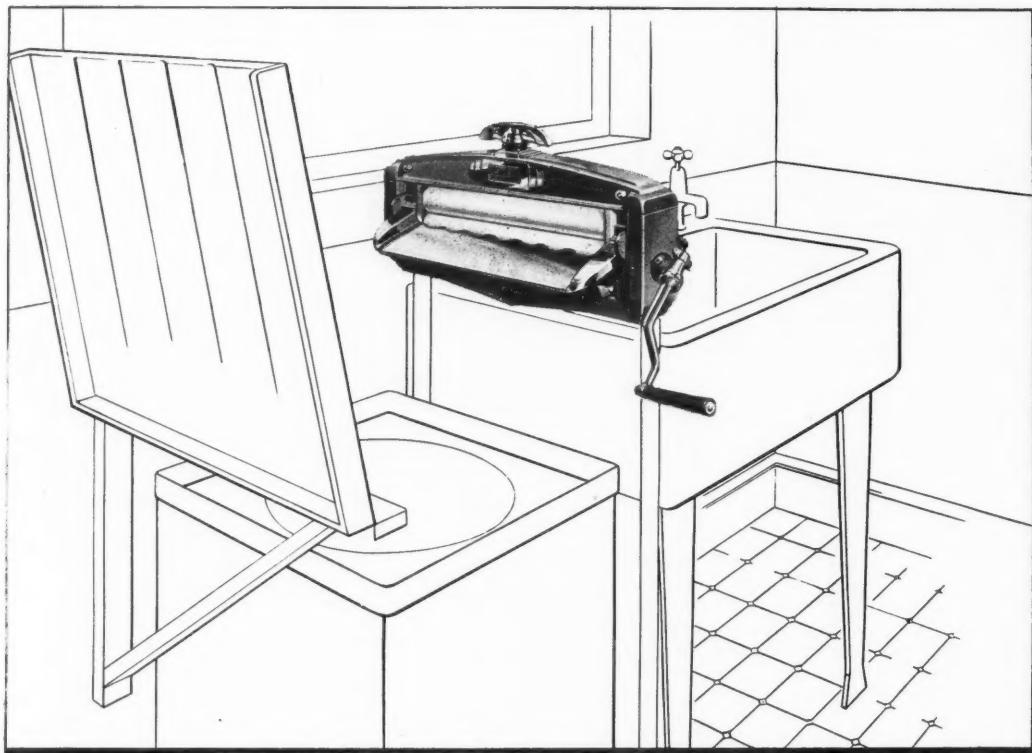
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# CRITTALL WINDOWS



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REBUILD

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## *She dreamed . . . . .*

*and in her dream time turned back thirty years. She was a housewife, busy with the weekly wash. With aching back and heated weary face she toiled between a sink she had to bend herself in two to reach, a copper boiling over a roaring roasting fire, and a monstrous mangle she barely had the strength to turn.*

## *She woke . . . . .*

*and there she was—a housewife, but of the pattern of today and tomorrow. With the weekly wash before her, nothing but the normal work of a normal day. With her pleasant kitchen, her just-right sink, her easy to use wash-boiler and her rubber roller wringer. What need had she to fear a back that ached, or a skin shrivelled by heat and exhaustion?*

Modern woman demands a civilised standard for the kitchen where the biggest part of her work is performed. A survey undertaken to ensure that her standards are met has laid down what are the minimum requirements—the size and

height of sink, the type of draining-board, the presence of wash-boiler. And always—room for a rubber roller wringer. The housewife herself will tell you *which* wringer—the Acme 55—the BEST.

To plan a modern house without a modern kitchen would be like building a ship without an engine room. To fix the kitchen without equipment for the home laundry would be leaving the engine room bare of engines.

Ministries and local authorities have accepted and approved surveys which regard conditions for the home laundry as vital. Which emphasises that room should always be made in the sink-unit for a rubber roller wringer, which halves a woman's work and takes the nightmare quality out of wash-day.

If your work brings you any problem in connection with the fixing of wringers, please get in touch with us for advice or assistance. We will have much pleasure in helping you.

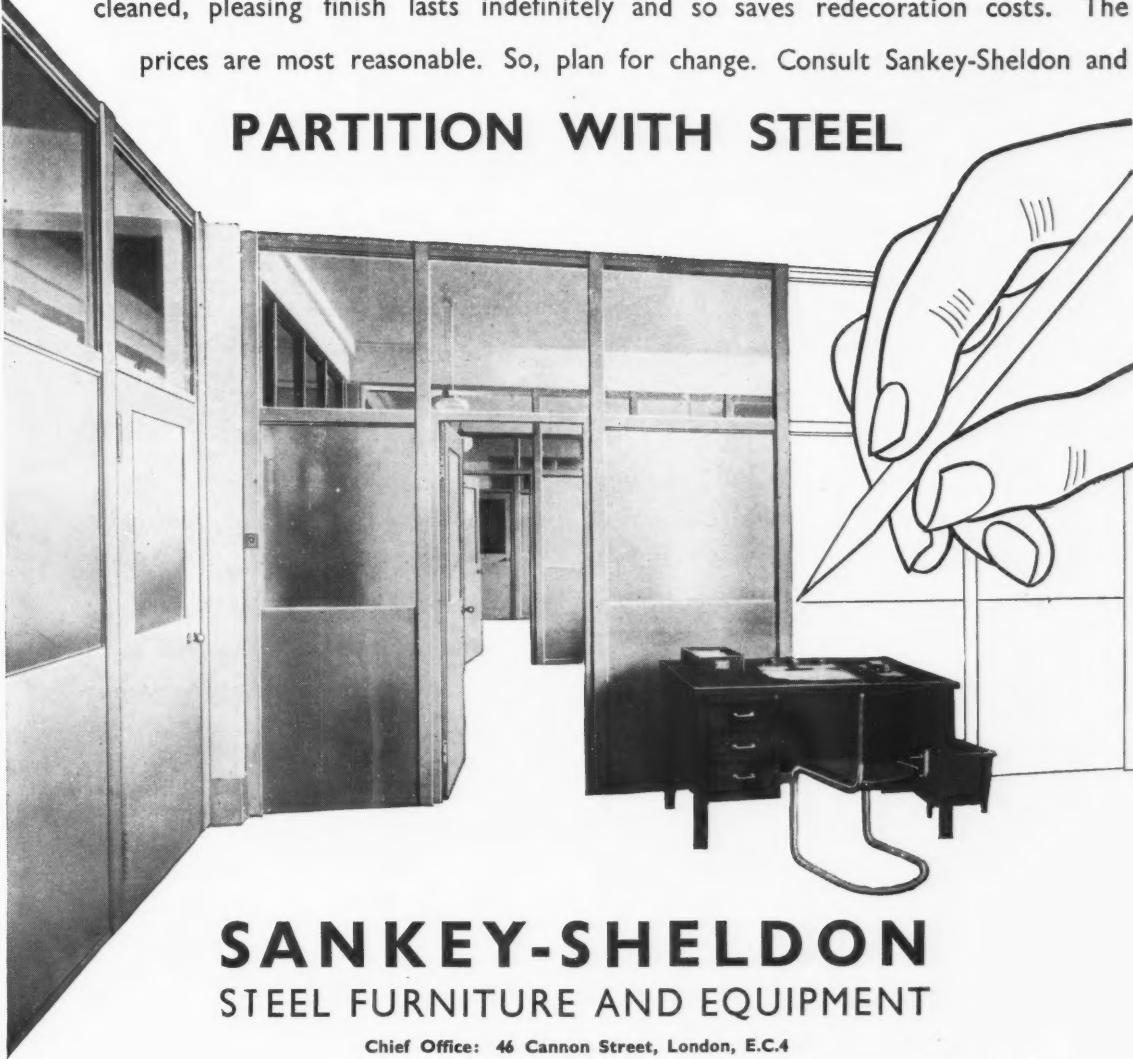
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**YOUR OFFICE OF THE FUTURE** may not need the same layout as it does today. Businesses will be particularly subject to change in the fluid days ahead. That is why you will be wise to adopt an adaptable system of partitioning. Sankey-Sheldon Steel Partitions give you that necessary flexibility with an appearance of permanence and solidity. They are supplied in standard sections that can be erected and re-erected to any plan. They are fire-resisting and vermin-proof. The easily cleaned, pleasing finish lasts indefinitely and so saves redecoration costs. The prices are most reasonable. So, plan for change. Consult Sankey-Sheldon and

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Chief Office: 46 Cannon Street, London, E.C.4

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Enquiries to Sankey-Sheldon, Dept. A.R., 46 Cannon Street, E.C.4

# We need NEW SCHOOLS



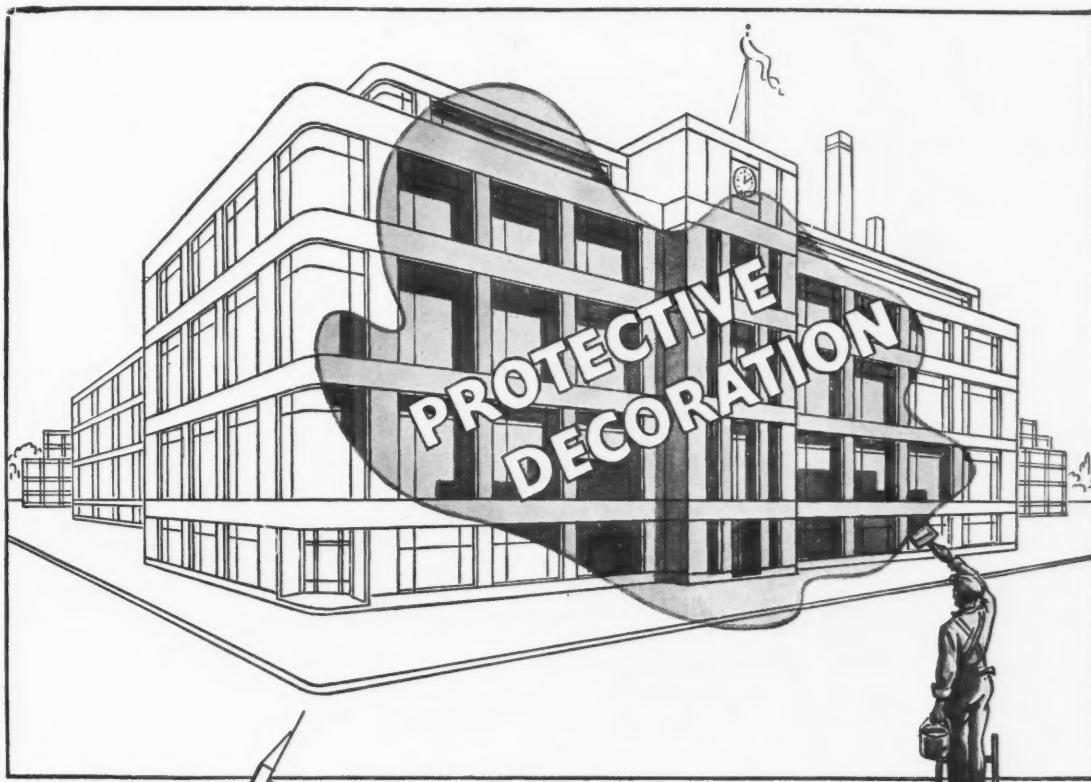
Schools, schools and more schools will soon be going up—or coming down for rebuilding. The new schools will not, we hope, look like castles or town halls or places of detention or fantastic accidents. They will be designed for light and air and space and cheerfulness.

And their architects and builders will discover—if they don't already know—the innumerable uses of zinc, from roofing downwards. Its lightness, long life and low cost. Its suitability for buildings traditional or revolutionary, site-built or pre-fabricated. Its almost infinite versatility.

## ... new schools need ZINC

ZINC has already entered into the construction of hundreds of schools ancient and modern. Ample supplies of Zinc will be available for post-war building. New techniques are being discovered and our publications describe them. If you would like to have our publication list or to know more about Zinc and the Zinc Development Association, write to the Z.D.A., Lincoln House, Turl Street, Oxford.





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Before the first quantitative survey is made, or the preliminary plan drafted, the wise architect has the finish in mind. He knows that, if he specifies CERRUX Decorative Finishes, he is best serving his client and the tenants of the building to come. CERRUX, in war-time as in peace, ensures high speed application, thorough and enduring protection, and the lowest subsequent maintenance costs. The protection of wood and metal fittings, no less than the general appearance of the building, is assured with CERRUX.

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But, even in war-time, the brains behind CERRUX are producing, from the available substitute materials, a range of finishes inferior only to the pre-war CERRUX product itself.

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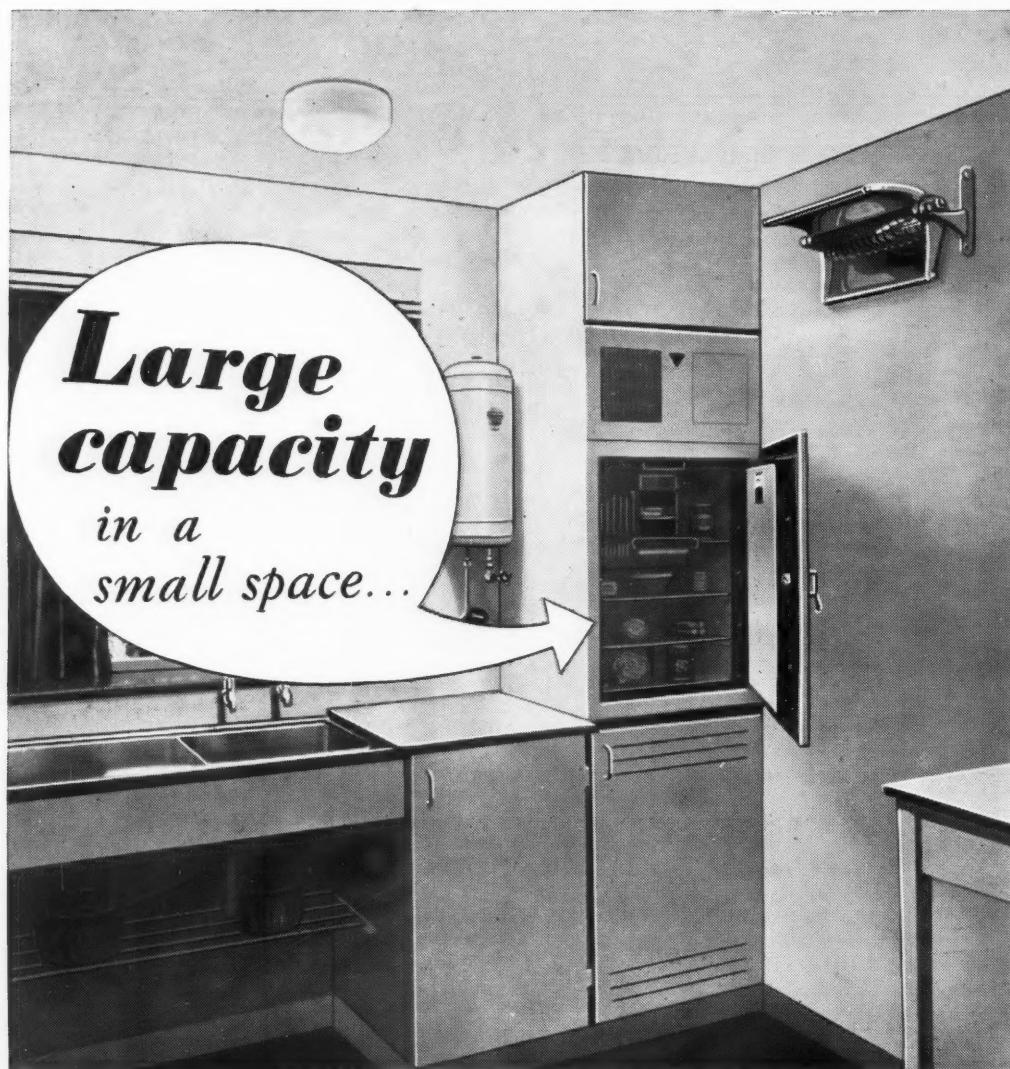
# *Electricity is basic in building*

Electricity, which was the *mainpower* behind the production of munitions of war, is now a prime necessity in the building and equipment of the new and better homes for peacetime Britain. Electricity is no longer a luxury to be enjoyed by a few; it is the *main source* of that comfort and cleanliness to which every householder is entitled. And, in addition to being indispensable, Electricity is able to meet—and is meeting the hundred and one demands which indispensability entails.

For information and advice about the many new uses and greatly increased adaptability of Electricity consult your Electricity Supply Undertaking or the British Electrical Development Association, 2 Savoy Hill, London, W.C.2

*The Electrical Section at the Building Centre, Maddox Street, London, W.1, provides interesting illustrations of electrical application in domestic and industrial premises.*





THIS built-in Prestcold refrigerator, installed in the model kitchen at the British Electrical Development Association Exhibition "Electricity looks forward," has the following important advantages:

Storage capacity of approximately  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cubic feet, which will hold all the perishable foodstuffs for a family of four.

Larder space rendered unnecessary. Dry goods and non-perishable foodstuffs would be kept in kitchen cupboards.

Waist-high door, allowing access to interior without stooping. Height adaptable by varying position of supporting frames.

*It can be built into kitchen fittings with cupboard space above and below it.*

*Design provides for adequate ventilation of mechanism without the necessity for special air-bricks or ducting.*

*Ice making and 'cold cooking' facilities.*

Most important too, is the fact that this Prestcold refrigerator provides the food storage temperatures necessary for the proper safeguarding of perishable foods—for instance 35°F for fresh fish and poultry; 40°F for milk—and even the lower temperatures needed to store the frozen foods which will be available later on. In addition, it will be most economical in current consumption, using only one unit a day.

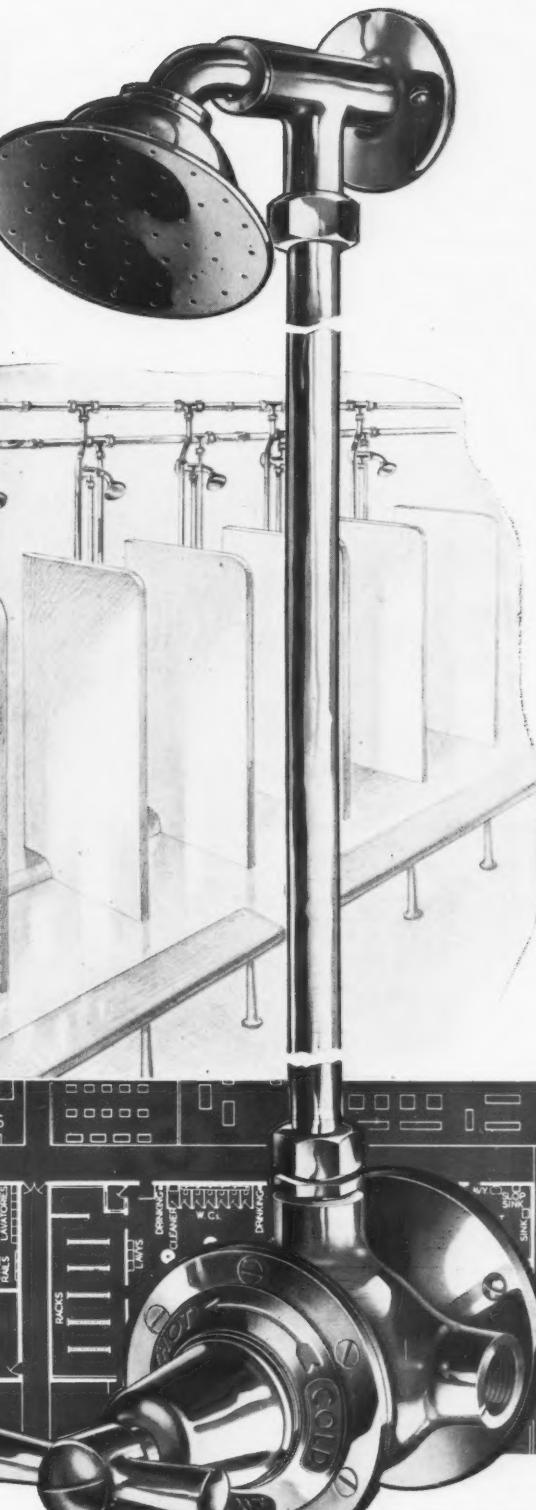
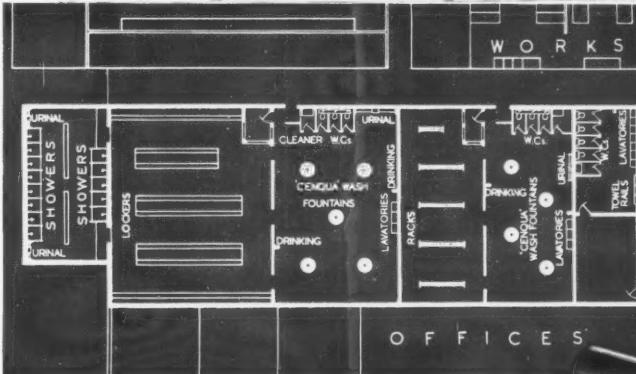
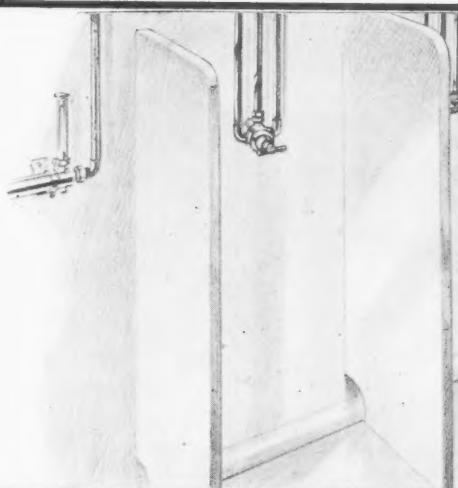
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*Refrigeration*

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## For Factories, Public Institutions & Schools



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## KEX PRODUCTS

### KEXACRETE

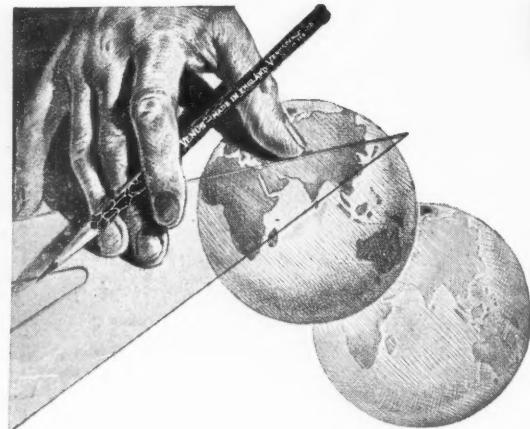
#### A Stable Silica Solution derived from a Silicic Ester

Kexacrete is an important new addition in the field of Damp and Weather proofing. Its main application is for the protection of porous building materials such as reinforced concrete, pre-cast artificial stone, floors in situ, etc. It is supplied as a clear, colourless or stained solution, and although derived from a Silicic Ester, is now made in a stable form. The fact that single-brick building has been permitted, provided the brick-work was treated with Kexacrete, is evidence of its permanent effectiveness.

All interested can receive expert advice on Kexacrete's many new uses.

KEX

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Elstree, Herts. Elstree 1777



### VENUS AND THE NEW WORLD

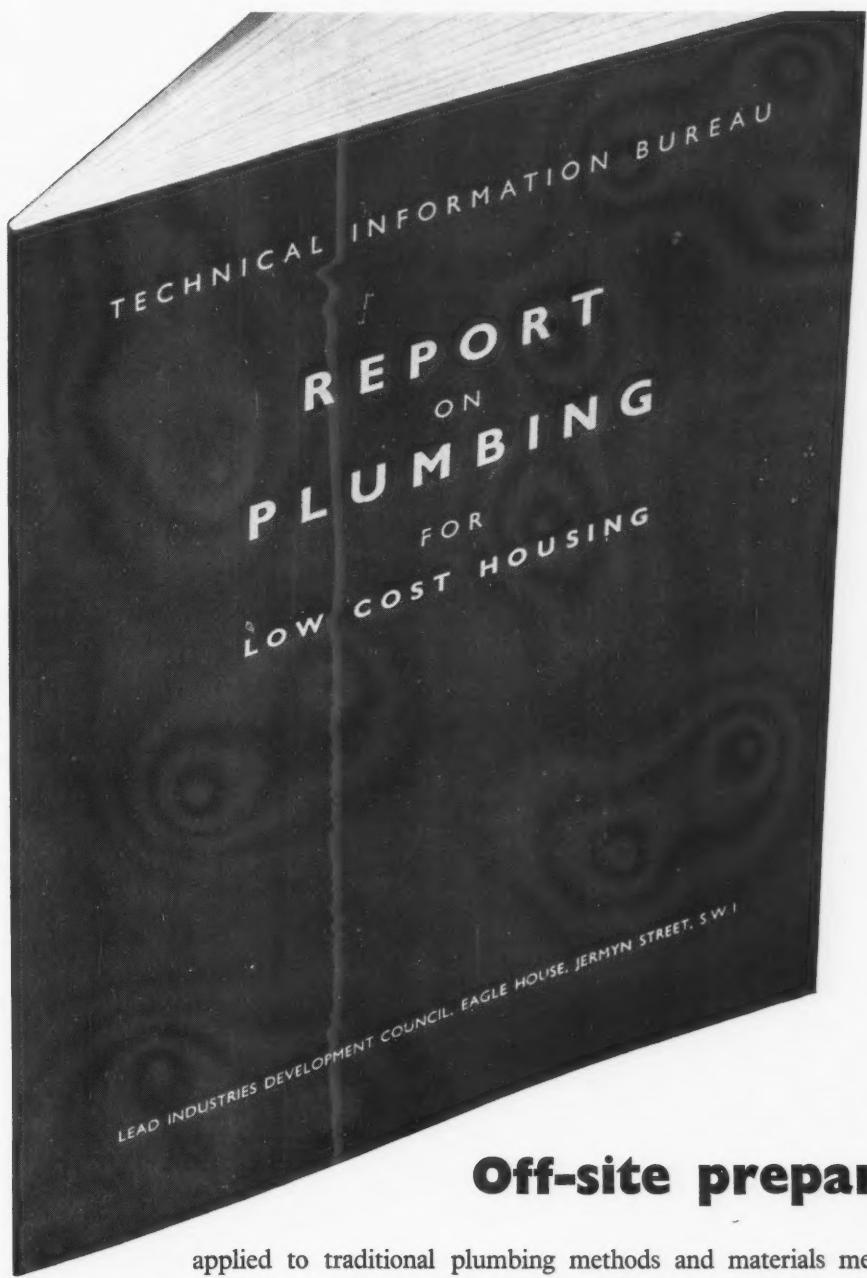
Transition from war to peace has already begun, for draughtsmen and designers are busy planning the New World eclipsing the old. For this work VENUS pencils are quite naturally their first choice, for their quality has never varied. With the return of full peacetime production, it will be possible to obtain the full range of VENUS pencils, well remembered for their strength in performance, smoothness in action and distinctive finish. Meanwhile they are available in a choice of seven grades under the standard name of VENUS "War Drawing," also Blacklead, Copying and Coloured "Utility" pencils.



## VENUS

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THE VENUS PENCIL CO., LTD., LOWER CLAPTON ROAD, LONDON, E.5.



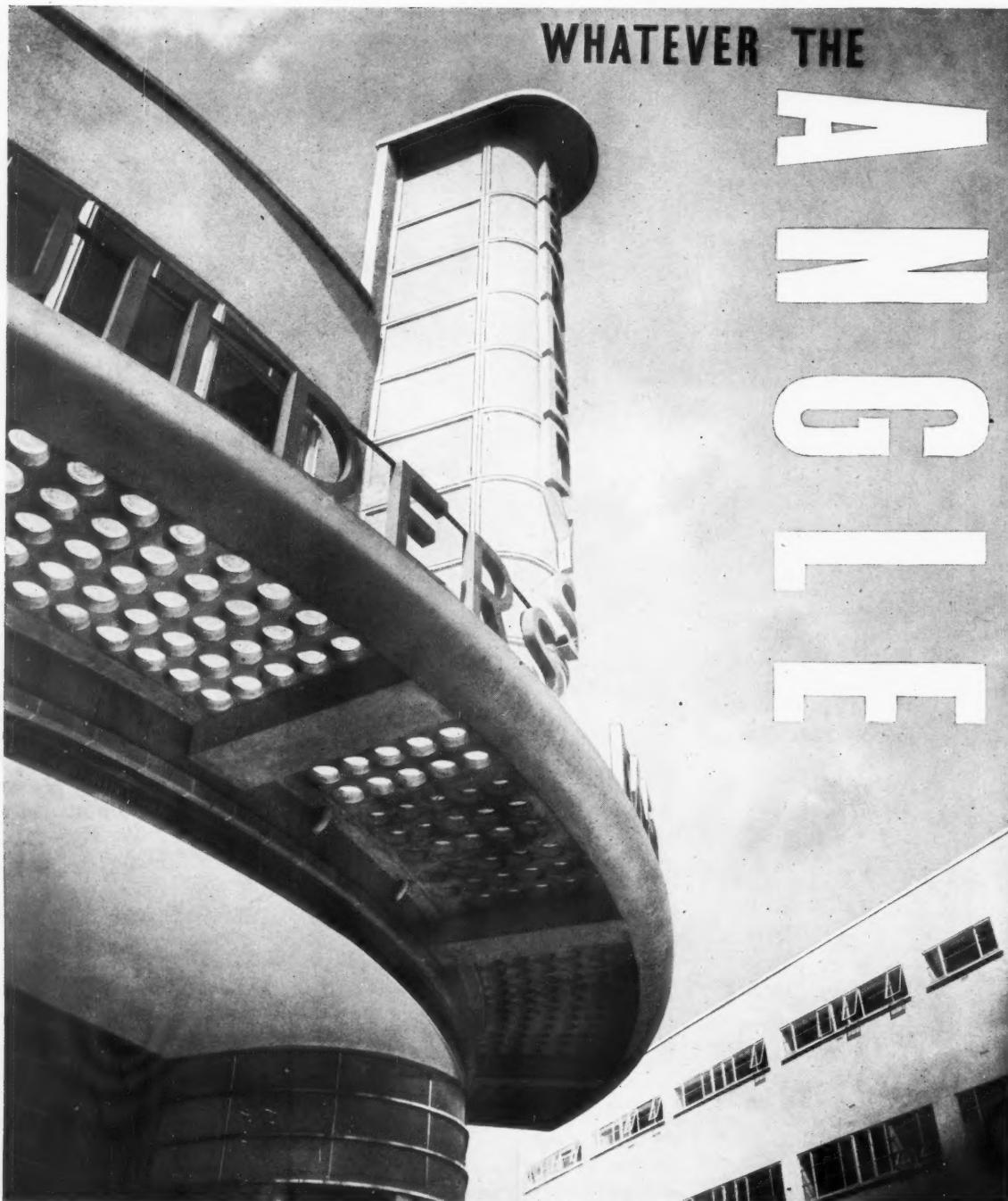
## Off-site preparation

applied to traditional plumbing methods and materials means increased efficiency, economy of materials, and a considerable reduction in site work hours. This and other factors making for efficient and economic plumbing systems are discussed in the report illustrated, copies of which may be had on application.



LEAD INDUSTRIES DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL  
EAGLE HOUSE, JERMYN STREET, LONDON, S.W.1

B18



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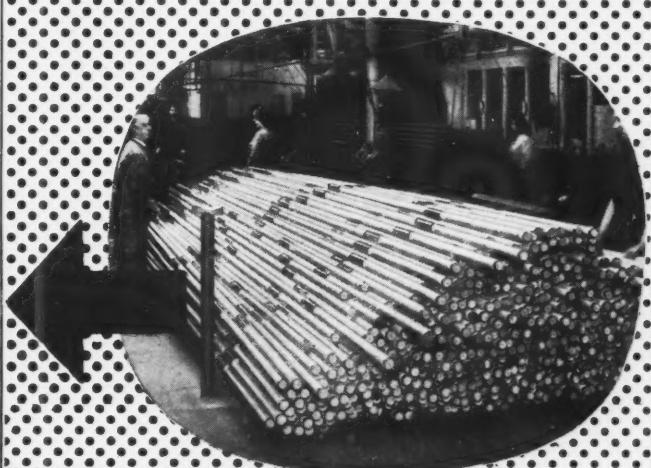
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In the change-over of your plant to new projects you may have problems which Tru-Wel electrically welded steel tubes can help to solve. Our plants can produce tubes of any shape to suit your requirements—in thousands or millions—at a speed which will save you time and labour. Our mass production methods include strict tests to ensure absolute accuracy—

you have no worries on the assembly line—the first and last lengths are exactly alike. May we suggest that you investigate more fully the possibilities of Tru Wel Tubes.

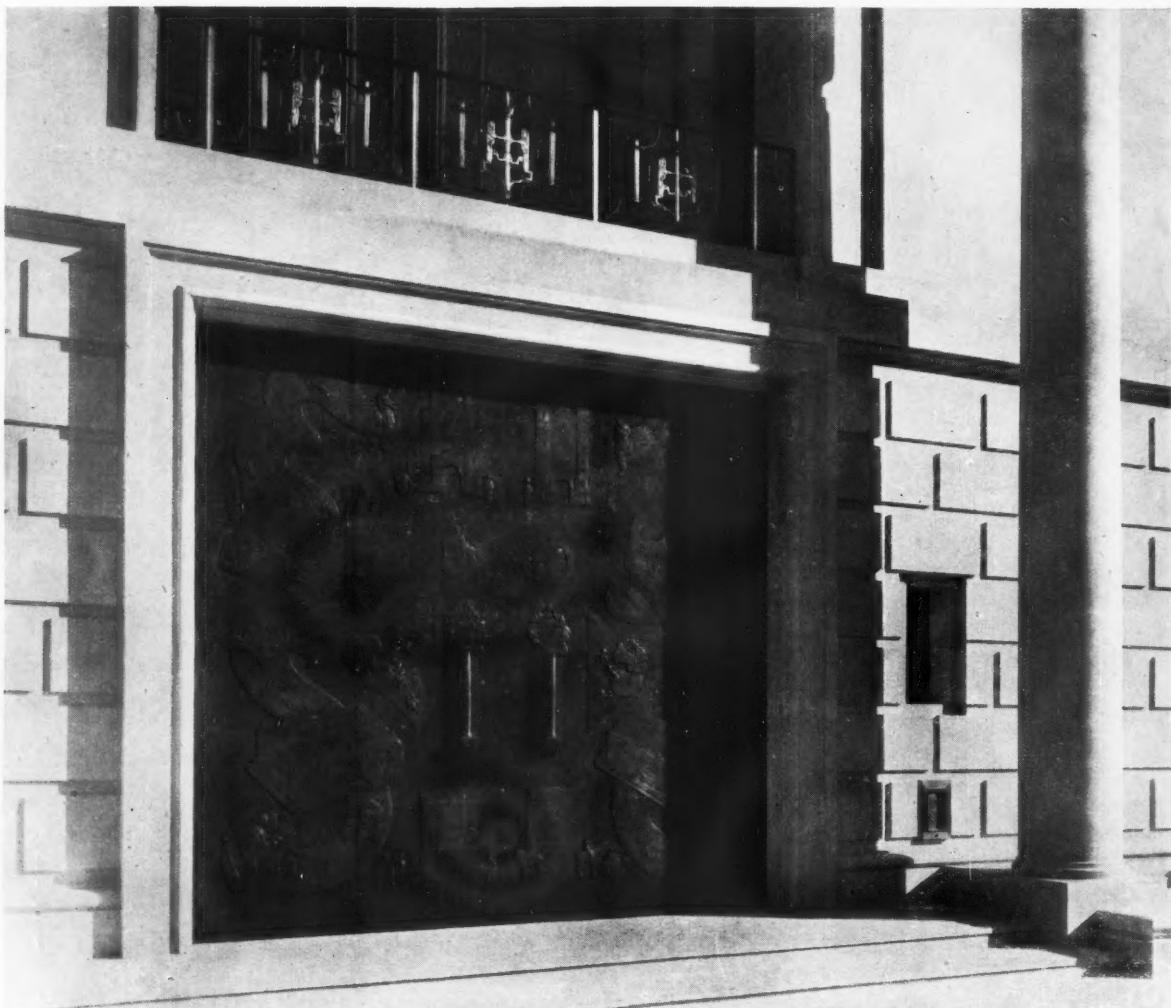
Tru-Wel electrically welded steel tubes are mass-produced to your requirements; identical in lightness and strength; in concentricity and evenness of wall-strength; identical in composition so that all can be manipulated with equal ease and at full-power speed.

**TUBE PRODUCTS LIMITED**  
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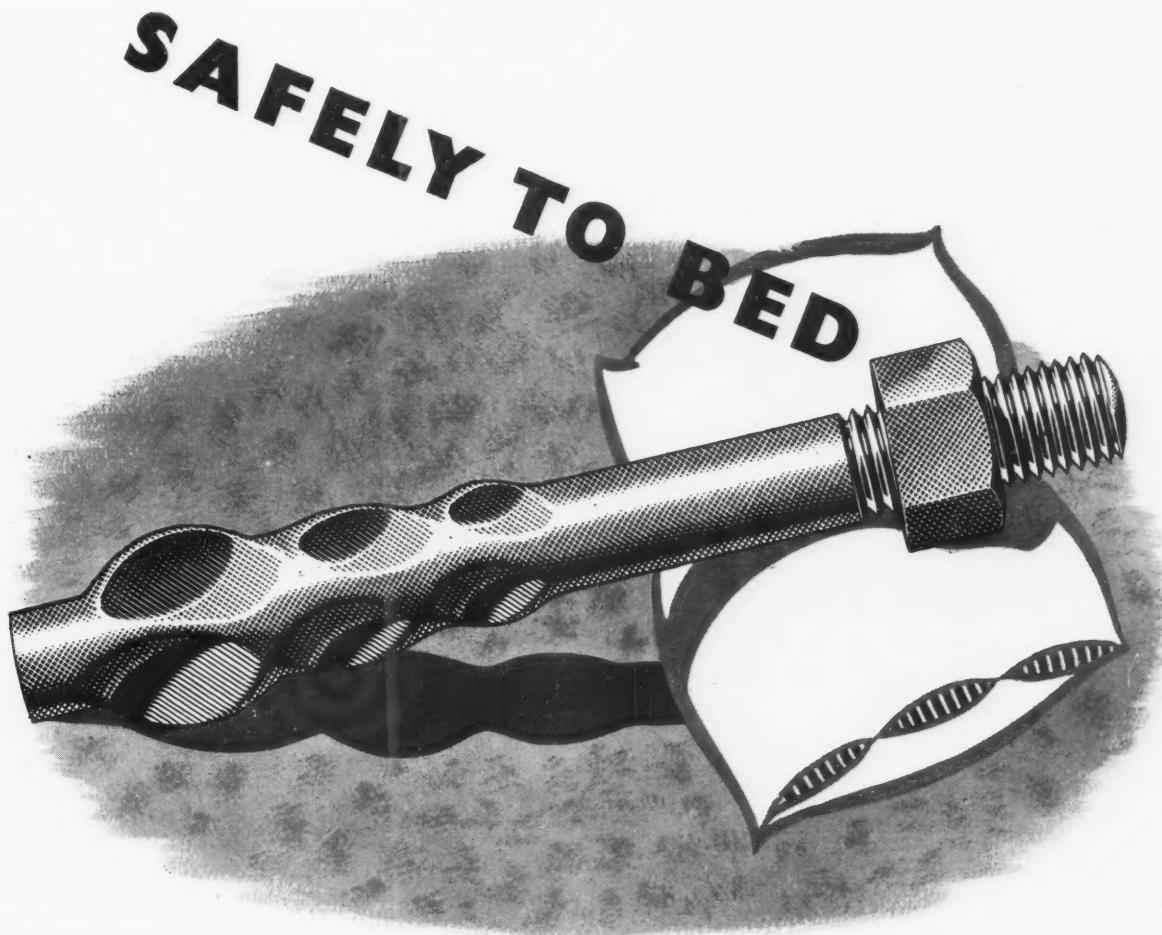
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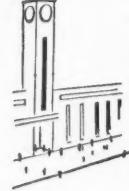
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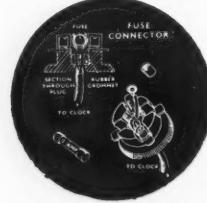
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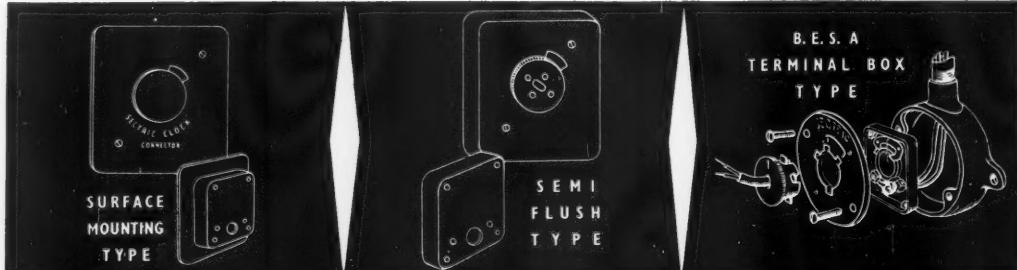
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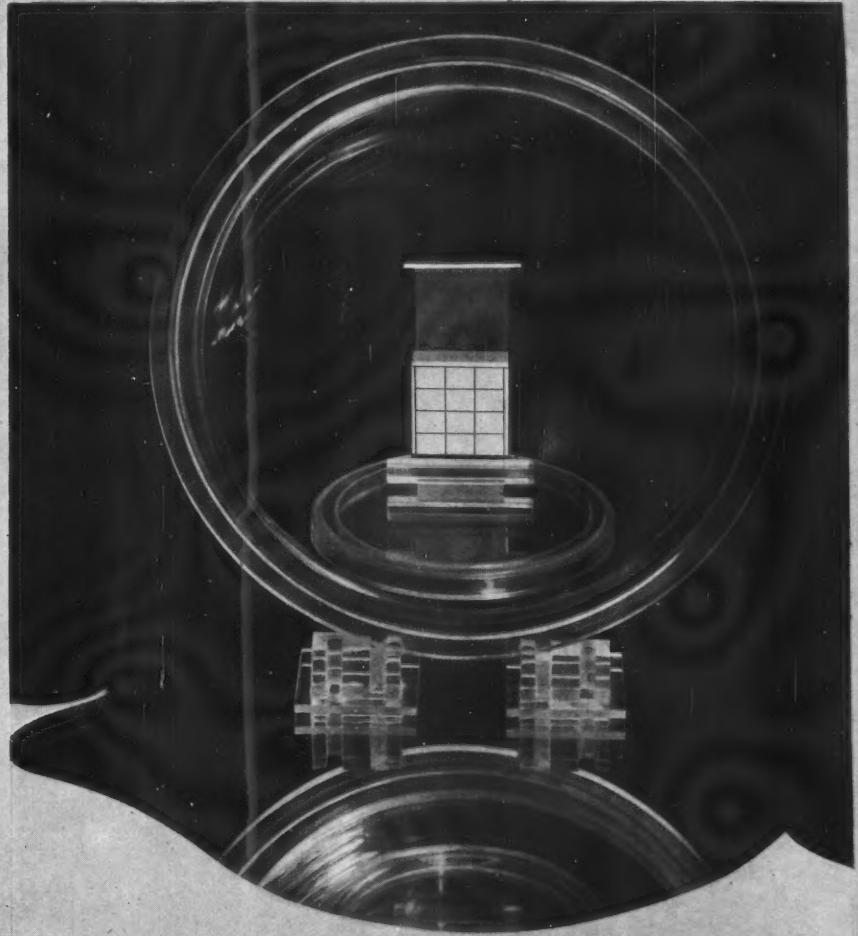
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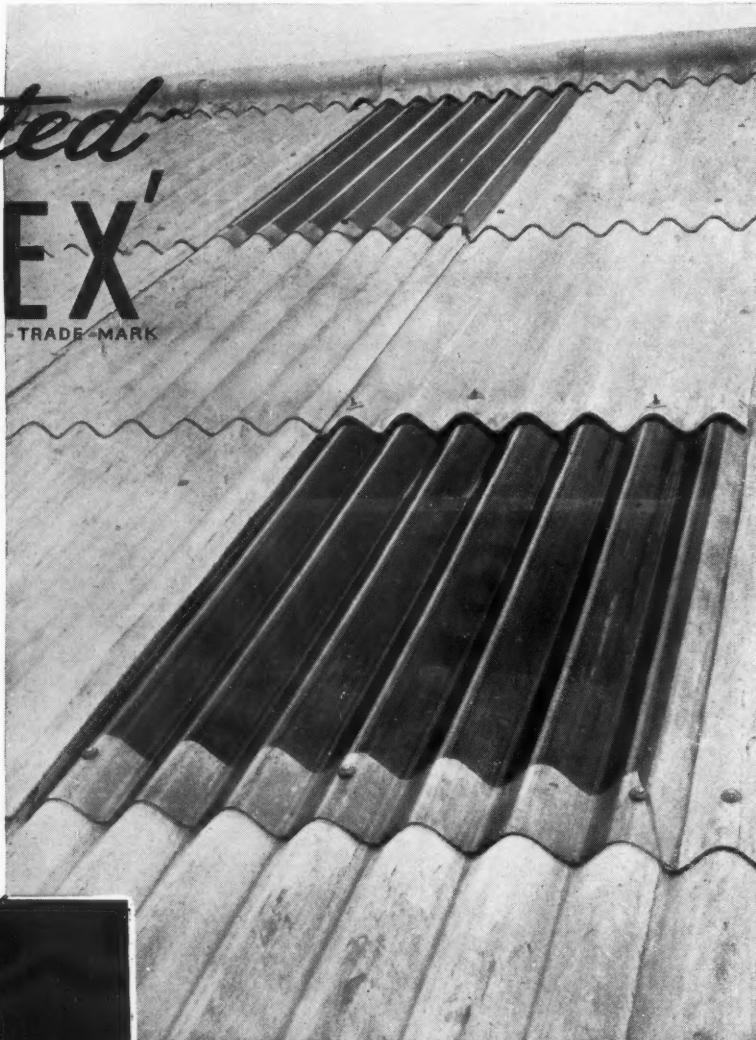
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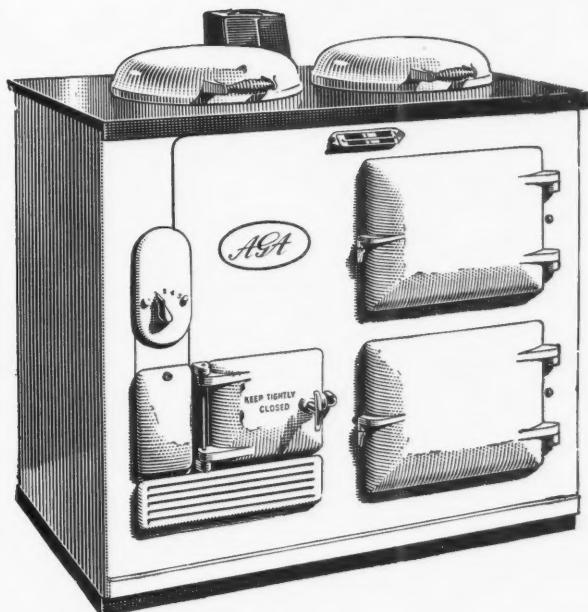
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C.P.3

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## EXAMPLE

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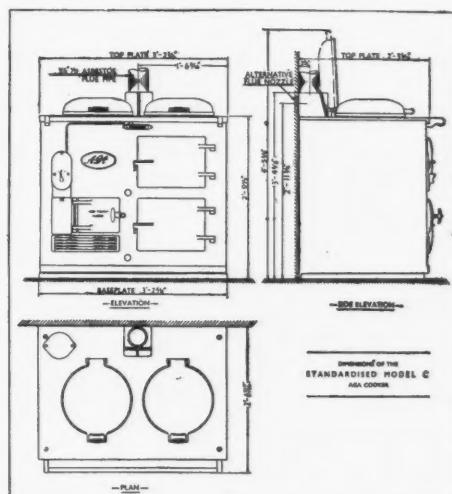


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**INSTALLATION:** It fits right back against the wall: the flue pipe can be taken either straight up to the chimney or else a different flue chamber can be fitted and the stub taken to a built-in flue. It is recommended that the AGA Cooker should stand on a sheet of asbestos cement or asbestos millboard (in the case of a wooden floor): or it may be raised on a brick or cement dais flush with the front plate of the cooker. It is important that the hearth or base upon which the cooker stands should be perfectly level.

SPECIFICATION FOR MODEL C:

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This is not yet a feasible proposition

for listeners everywhere, but Broadcast Relay Service Ltd. are already operating a service which brings radio into the home by private direct lines from the B.B.C. studios.

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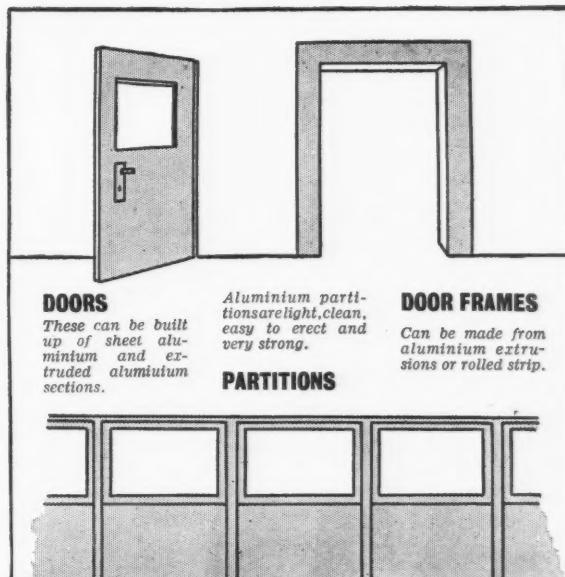
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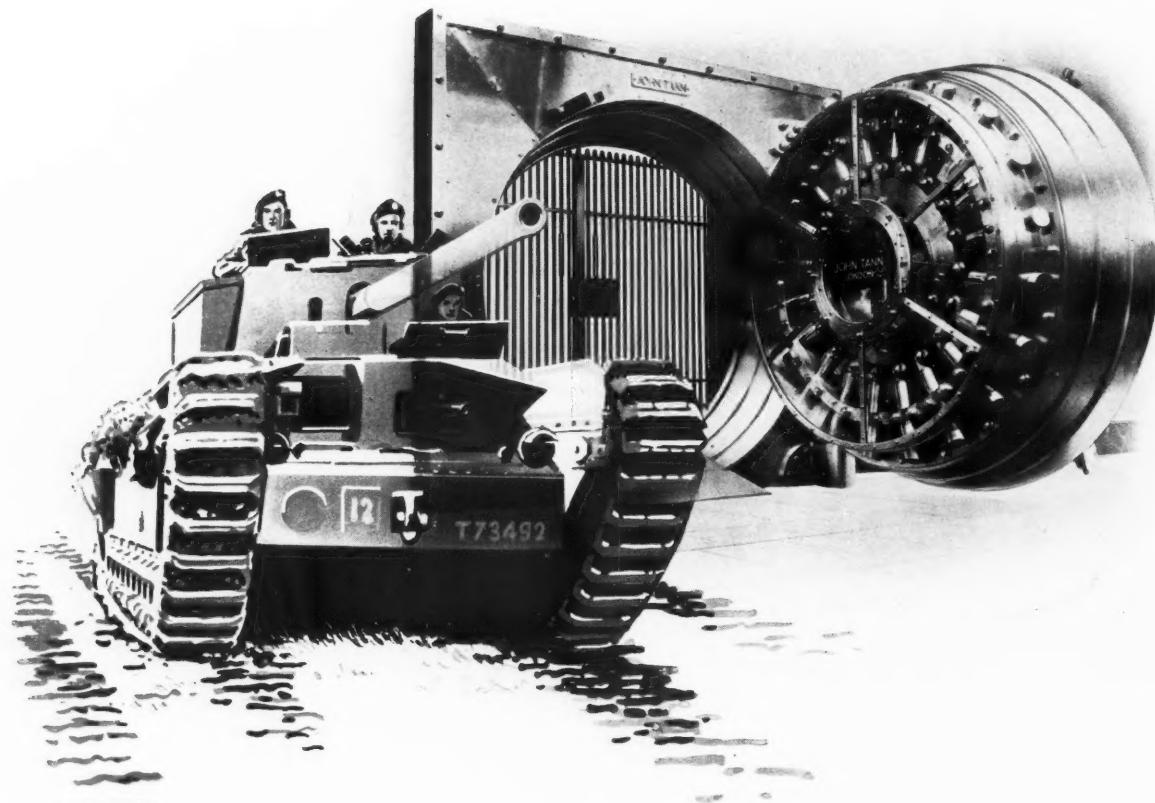
Schools and business premises, after housing, dominate the rebuilding programme now directly ahead, and our Technical Development Department is investigating the possible applications of aluminium and its alloys to the requirements of architect and builder. For example, particular attention is being given to the aluminium partition. Remembering the high strength to weight ratio of aluminium, demountable and flexible partitions for schools and offices have very real advantages. Again, doors of laminated sheet aluminium and door frames (sheet or extruded) in standard sizes have much to recommend them.

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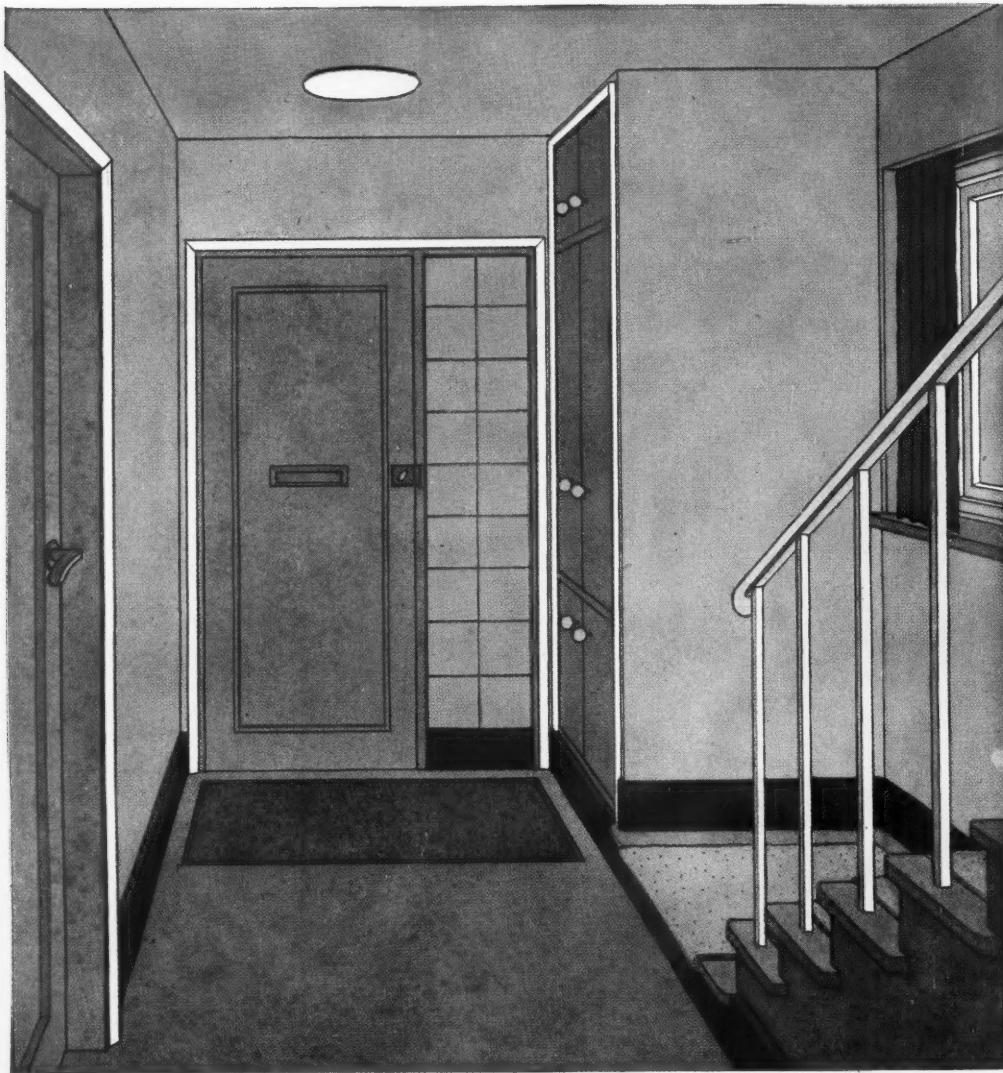
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## ANTHOLOGY

# No taste for Gothic

Monday I spent at Oxford, but rather unpleasantly, on account of my head-ache. Mr. Maud himself came to fetch me, as he had promised he would, but I found myself unable to go with him.

Notwithstanding this, in the afternoon, I took a little walk up an hill, which lies to the north of Oxford ; and from the top of which I could see the whole city ; which did not, however, appear to me nearly so beautiful and magnificent as Mr. Maud had described it to me during our last night's walk.

The Colleges are mostly in the gothic taste, and much overloaded with ornaments, and built with grey stone ; which, perhaps, while it is new, looks pretty well, but it has now the most dingy, dirty, and disgusting appearance, that you can possibly imagine.

Only one of these Colleges is in the modern style. The houses of the city are in general ordinary, in some parts quite miserable ; in some streets they are only one story high, and have shingled roofs. To me Oxford seemed to have but a dull and gloomy look ; and I cannot but wonder how it ever came to be considered as so fine a city, and next to London. . . .

The next morning Mr. Maud, according to his promise, showed me some of the things most worthy of notice in Oxford. And first he took me to his own room in his own College, which was on the ground floor, very low, and dark, and resembled a cell, at least as much as a place of study. The name of this College is *Corpus Christi*. He next conducted me to *All Souls College*, a very elegant building, in which the chapel is particularly beautiful. Mr. Maud also shewed me, over the altar here, a fine painting of Mengs, at the sight of which, he shewed far more sensibility than I thought him possessed of. He said, that notwithstanding he saw that painting almost daily, he never saw it without being much affected.

This painting represented Mary Magdalen, when she first suddenly sees Jesus standing before her, and falls at his feet. And, in her countenance, pain, joy, grief, in short almost all the strongest of our passions, are expressed in so masterly a manner, that no man of true taste was ever tired of contemplating it ; the longer it is looked at, the more it is admired. He now also shewed me the library of this College, which is provided with a gallery round the top ; and the whole is most admirably regulated and arranged. Among other things, I here saw a description of Oxford, with plates to illustrate it : and I cannot help observing what, though trite, is true, that all these places look much better, and are far more beautiful on paper, than they appeared to me to be, as I looked at them, where they actually stand.

Afterwards Mr. Maud conducted me to the *Bodleian library*, which is not unworthy of being compared to the *Vatican* at Rome ; and next to the building, which is called the *Theatre*, and where the public orations are delivered. This is a circular building with a gallery all round it, which is furnished with benches one above the other, on which the Doctors, Masters of Arts, and Students sit, and directly opposite to each other are erected two chairs, or pulpits, from which the disputants harangue and contend.

*Christ Church* and *Queen's College* are the most modern, and, I think, indisputably the best built of all the Colleges. *Baliol College* seems particularly to be distinguished on account of its antiquity, and its complete gothic style of building.

CARL PHILIPP MORITZ (*Travels in England, 1782*).

## MARGINALIA

### A Gothic Anthology

This month's Anthology provides a much-needed corrective to the contents of the *Gothic Number*. Looking back at the history of taste, whether the Horace Walpole or the Corbusier phase, the critic of a later generation is always inclined to think that such outstanding work as Strawberry Hill or the Swiss House at the Cité Universitaire really represent the most conspicuous trend of the moment. However, in truth they are at first only perceived by a very small clique and certainly not accepted in the way in which we accept them now.

Carl Philipp Moritz was an enlightened young man, as eager as any German schoolmaster who wants to get on in his profession—the type is familiar to the army re-educators of today. He stood his ground in debates on theology with the Oxford dons, or so he says. And he began three years after his English journey to write *Anton Reiser*, one of the most interesting auto-psychological novels written in the later eighteenth century. He was born in 1756 and taught from 1777 at the Philanthropin of Dessau, the Dartington of the day. The school was conducted on Rousseau principles, and Moritz, when he went

to England, insisted on walking instead of travelling by coach, although it made him appear an outcast to innkeepers, and on extending his tour to the Derbyshire rocks and caves. In 1786 he met Goethe in Italy and was converted to Grecian ideals. He was appointed professor of architecture at the Royal Academy of Berlin in 1789 and died in 1793.

Moritz when first looking down on Oxford and walking along the High and the Broad had no patience at all with the medieval buildings, no eye for their beauty, no sense for the city's atmosphere. What he admired was the Radcliffe Camera, Peckwater, Queen's, and a Mengs painting, that is a painting in the effeminate, semi-classical style represented in England by Benjamin West. Nor can we say that this is because he was a foreigner not up-to-date in the rediscovery of Gothic and picturesque beauty. On the contrary, Dessau was the very place where the first English landscape garden and the first Gothic *maison de plaisir* had been designed in Germany. That had been in 1769 and 1773 respectively. So it is not the alien's backwardness, but the backwardness of the visually in-

sensitive and untrained—a backwardness, in strong and alas only too frequent contrast to intellectual progressiveness and emotional alertness.

### The Future of the Bath Plan

The Bath City Council has approved the Abercrombie plan for Bath with the exception of his proposal to make over the Royal Crescent to municipal offices. The sub-committee of the Council wishes however to see the Crescent ultimately amalgamated into large ownerships by some other means. The sub-committee has apparently not raised any objection to the destruction implied by the plan of such aesthetically important buildings as Rosewell House, Kingsmead Square, St. James's Church tower, Holy Trinity Church, the New Prison, and the Royal National Hospital for Rheumatic Diseases.

### Two New Committees

The Minister of Town and Country Planning has appointed two new committees, the one under the chairmanship of Lord Reith (whose return will be warmly welcomed by all interested in bolder and more consistent

planning) to collect material and advise on new towns, the other under the chairmanship of Sir Eric MacLagan to advise on the preservation by local authorities of buildings of architectural and historic merit. Members of Sir Eric's committee are Messrs. G. H. Chettle, Sir A. W. Clapham, S. E. Dykes Bower, Sir Cyril Fox, Professor Galbraith, W. H. Godfrey, H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, Professor W. Holford, M. Sisson, J. Summerson and Professor Webb. Mr. A. Wagner is secretary to the committee. On the laws affecting national monuments and the compulsory preservation of buildings in general, the Georgian Group has incidentally just now published a very useful pamphlet.

### Planning for Reckless Holidays

At the Town and Country Planning Association's Ventnor Conference on the planning problem of holiday resorts (Oct. 6-8), Mr. Williams-Ellis said :

"The problem of holiday resort planning needs quite a different approach from that of ordinary planning and housing. This is a difference that needs to be imaginatively understood and exploited. In ordinary housing, one of the aims is that you should be near or handily placed for your work. In a holiday resort, everything should be contrived to make you forget it—forget the shop, the office, the bench and the desk, and the 8.15. Forget, too, the shopping queue, the stewpot and the mangle. Forget, for a fortnight, your prudent domestic budgeting, and for one short, glorious, extravagant fortnight live recklessly above your income and have a high old time.

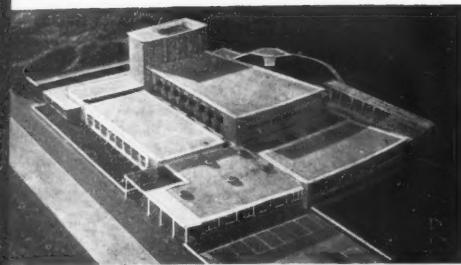
"It is the planner's job to set the stage appropriately for the efficient and acceptable performance of this most important national drama.

"With so many places already established, we shall mostly have to make the best of what is already in existence. Here and there one may have the advantage of a fresh start and a clean slate more or less, as at Farringford, Freshwater, where I am planning a Hotel Colony—something between a normal hotel and a rather special sort of holiday camp.

"I would hazard that there are many dull and stagnant places where, say, £1,000 imaginatively laid out would add £10,000 a year to its total receipts and much enjoyment to its patrons. The things that skilled and imaginative planning can give you for next to nothing are the most important things of all—intimacy without sacrifice of ample light and air, variety without discord and with everything fitting into a carefully composed pattern and picture, both for convenience of use and elegance of looks. Trees, lots of them, of the right sort in the right places—not merely properly planted, but properly tended thereafter. More grass and less asphalt; no railings; no 'shrubs'; plenty of flowers—both private and public—no silly, snobbish little 'alpines' interned in dusty rockeries, but gay and lusty, colourful, common flowers, that will ramp and thrive and enjoy themselves with a minimum of attention according to your soil and climate and aspect. And plenty of colourwash on your buildings. But that's merely making the best of a bad job, an old job based on mistaken ideas—or on none at all. What of the New Deals? Beware of too much T-square, of committing yourselves to plans simply because they make a neat and snappy pattern on paper. Paper can be a snare. The actual ground itself, with all its little folds and accidents and incidents of every sort, is what you have to make the uttermost use of, if you are worth anything at all."

### The Arts Council Arts Centres

Lund Humphries's have published for the Arts Council a booklet on the Council's projected Arts Centres. A model of this was shown at the Theatre Exhibition some time ago and described in a broadcast talk by Philip James. The booklet goes into much more detail and shows the admirable flexibility of the plan, whose elements can be assembled in many different



The Arts Council's proposed Arts Centre.

forms. There would thus be no danger of uniformity, if many of these centres were to be put up. The style and technique of exchanging units in the various planning schemes is very similar to that of the hostels designed by Professor Holford's team early in the war, and fully discussed in THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW, December, 1941. The photograph from the model which appears on this page will bear that out. In fact it is said that the planning division of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning was also responsible for the design of the Arts Centre. Each centre comprises a hall to seat 600 for theatricals and concerts, a restaurant to seat 200, an exhibition or lecture room with adjoining reading or committee room, and stores, offices, foyer and so on. It is a first-rate piece of informal and human planning and should, if carried out on the scale envisaged, meet with considerable interest in such progressive countries as Sweden.

### Britain Can Make It

This is going to be the title of an exhibition of what is best in British industrial art. The exhibition is to be held on a pretty large scale next summer. It is being organized by the Council of Industrial Design, its first major enterprise. Preliminary work was opened recently by a luncheon at which the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Stafford Cripps, spoke in his usual forceful and determined way. It is he who conceived the idea of the exhibition and insists on its early date. Council and manufacturers will have a tough job, with no materials yet to make new things, and no skilled labour, with plenty of designers still in the forces, with an understandable dislike to show the old 1938 things again, and an equally understandable dislike to show new designs not yet in production. What will be exhibited then? Prototypes, models, products available for export only? One feels unable even to guess, and yet one ardently wishes this test show the greatest possible international success.

### Georgian Cheltenham

The Georgian Group has done excellent work in a *Report on Cheltenham* published a few months ago. It was prepared following a request for advice addressed to the Group by the Cheltenham Borough Council and consists of a few pages on the town and its architecture, on the problem of preservation and on a recommended course of action. The end of the pamphlet is a three-page

section, closely printed, of all buildings of architectural interest in Cheltenham. The crisp and sunny photographs are by Margaret Casson, *Country Life* and B. C. Clayton.

### Planners Needed

Mr. Silkin at a Town and Country Planning School at Bristol said there are no more than a thousand people with any planning qualifications available in this country. Another 1,600 to 2,500 will very soon be required. Where will they come from?

### Heinrich Wölfflin

Professor Wölfflin, on whose work a note appeared in November last year *à propos* his eightieth birthday, died earlier this year. With him has gone the leading representative of the school of thought in art history that believed in the analysis and comparison of form exclusively, regardless of iconography, general cultural history and social history.

### The Rising Cost of Housing

A White Paper issued in October strongly emphasizes the difference in the cost of temporary houses between the time when the Housing (Temporary Accommodation) Act was passed a year ago, and now. For steel houses the target figure had been £600. The only type substantially to exceed £800 which was accepted was the Aluminium House. Of the £1,330 which, including Customs, the American type was to cost, under Lend-Lease only £800 fell upon the Exchequer. Now these houses

will have to be paid for in full, and the order for 30,000 has been reduced to 8,150. The rise is similar in English types. To take four, Arcon, according to the White Paper, has gone up from £816 to £1,085, Uni-Seco from £772 to £1,020, Tarran from £721 to £1,000, and the Aluminium House from £914 to probably a little below £1,365.

The number of houses ordered and the number of hulls delivered by October 1 was:

Arcon	...	25,000	2,260
Uni-Seco	...	20,000	7,650
Tarran	...	16,000	955
Spooner	...	1,200	113
Universal	...	1,200	—
Phoenix	...	2,430	2,392
Aluminium	...	50,000	10
		115,830	13,380

### Some Recent Exhibitions

Exhibitions in London are gradually getting back to peace-time quantity. During October and November there was opportunity to see three major shows: part of the Tate Gallery at the National Gallery, the Royal effigies from Westminster Abbey at the Victoria and Albert Museum (on which more below) and a thousand war artists' paintings and drawings at the Royal Academy. The war artists, taking them all in all, have been worth their keep. There is of course a good deal of insignificant work about, but such things as Henry Moore's *Shelterers*, Paul Nash's aeroplanes, John Piper's and Graham Sutherland's ruined buildings — and

[continued on page lvi]

### 'THE LIVING STONE'

Hopton-Wood is a stone of rare beauty. It has inherent warmth and character; as responsive to thought as to the chisel. Its working qualities could not be bettered.

Hopton-Wood is indeed a very handsome gift from Nature.

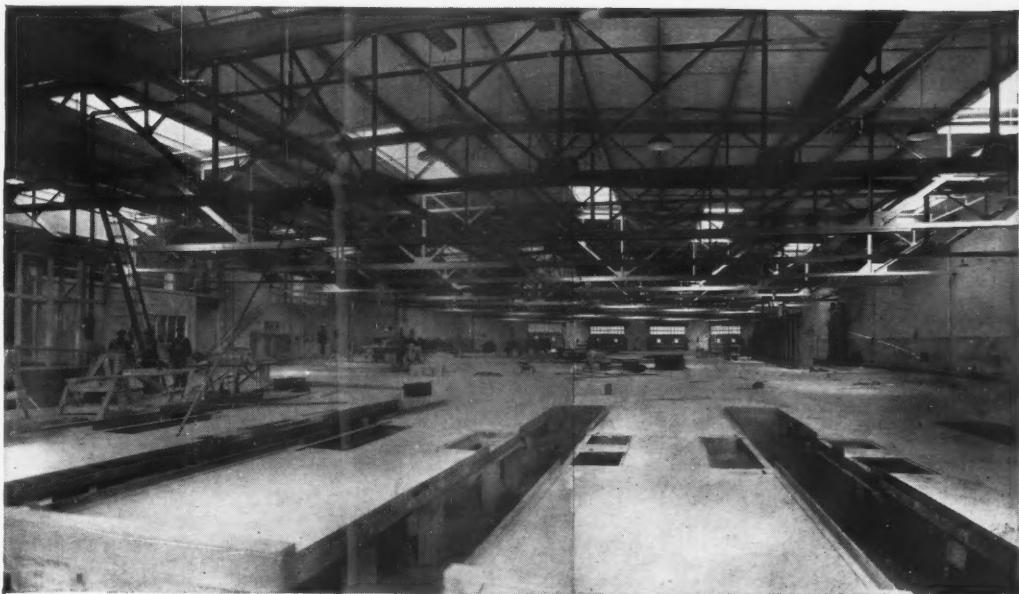
From a hill in Derbyshire

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The General Contractors, Walter G. Hunt Co., Ltd., of Montreal, had previously used 'PUDLO' Brand waterproofer, with highly successful results, on a number of important buildings and, in consequence, started this work with the complete confidence in the materials to be used, which is half-way towards success.

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continued from page liv]

quite a lot besides—will remain as a record of an emotional impact truly if unmartially met.

The *Recording Britain* scheme was continued by the generosity of four brewers, Barclay's, Courage's, Watney's and Whitbread's, with a small selection of artists and a selection committee very similar to that of the other scheme. Of the resulting 164 water-colours, about 100 were shown at the Suffolk Street Gallery, on the whole bearing out the impressions gained at the National Gallery exhibitions of *Recording Britain*. The cup goes again to Kenneth Rountree (whose *Signwriter's Shop* is a gem), and there are some four or five honourable mentions. Charles Ginner is certainly amongst them—the Kenneth Rountree of an older generation.

At the other exhibitions which the architecture-minded should go to see, Ben Nicholson (Lefèvre Gallery) shows signs of willingness to relinquish his ivory tower. There are handled mugs and four-square cottages in some of his recent work—a departure (or come-back) to be watched. The late Edward Johnston (Victoria and Albert Museum), creator of Frank Pick's "Underground Sans" proves himself once again to have been the superlative English calligrapher of our century. Heal's had a special show of *Sculpture in the Home*, over a hundred pieces of sculpture of sizes and character suitable for modern houses. They ranged from the Despiau or Haller qualities of, say, S. Charoux and Karin Jonzen to Dobson and Moore—a forceful plea for the sculptor's

potential share in modern interior architecture.

#### Kings on Visit at the V. and A.

The Royal effigies from Westminster Abbey, together with over a hundred pieces of stone sculpture from Henry V and Henry VII Chapels are halting at the Victoria and Albert Museum on their way back to the Abbey. The exhibition affords an opportunity of a life-time. Never again, we hope, will these masterpieces of mediæval art leave their snug but dark resting places. Nobody within living memory can have seen the gilt bronze effigy of, say, Edward III as well as now, and nobody the rows and rows of small figures standing crowded and high up around Henry VII Chapel. Fortunately the record of it will now not go again. Dr. Gernsheim of the Warburg Institute has photographed the most important specimens, and his photos are of the excellence of his previous work on the Baroque monuments in the Abbey. They emphasize what the originals revealed—that some of this English fourteenth and fifteenth century work is of the highest international quality.

#### American Designers Unite

A society of industrial designers has been formed to lay down codes of practice and to improve training conditions. All the leading designers seem to be founder members: Arens, Deskey, Dreyfuss, Geddes, Loewy, Rideout, Sakier, Teague, Van Doren, Russel Wright. It is to be hoped that our

Society of Industrial Artists will speedily establish permanent contact with its American opposite number.

#### War Damage in Germany: 3, Lübeck

On Lübeck Mr. A. Oswald published the following details in *Country Life*, August 17. The chief damage is due to the air raids of March and April, 1942, the ones to which the Nazis replied with their Baedeker raids.

ST. MARY'S.—Almost completely burnt out. The two organs, the screen with its paintings and the Dreyer Madonna, the old clock, Notke's Dance of Death, and nearly all the Renaissance and Baroque monuments are gone, though the Brief-Chapel with its triptych, the tabernacle and the Darssow Madonna are intact. The exterior of the church may be restorable.

CATHEDRAL.—Burnt out, but restorable.

ST. PETER'S.—Burnt out, but restorable.

ST. CATHERINE'S, ST. JAMES'S, ST. AEGIDIUS.—Intact.

TOWN HALL.—Only minor damage.

OLD HOUSES.—Mostly destroyed, e.g., Schabbelhaus. Surviving: Behnhaus, Schiffgesellschaft, Holy Ghost Hospital, some houses in south-west quarter close to Cathedral, stretch of houses west of St. Mary's towards the Holstenhafen.

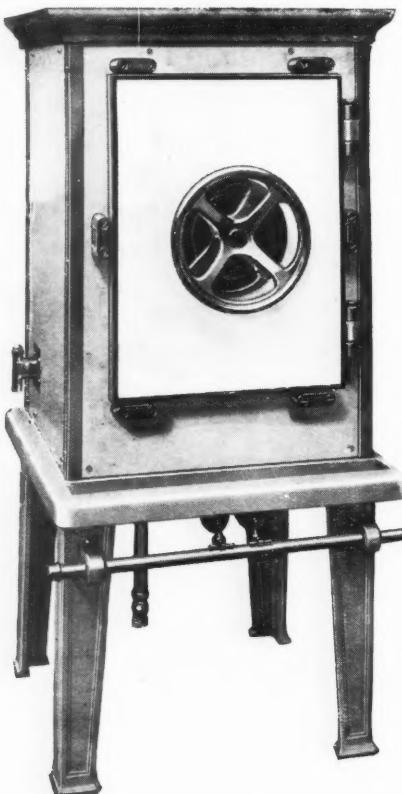
GATES.—Holstentor and Burgtor undamaged.

MUSEUMS.—Museum of St. Anne's intact, Cathedral Museum gone.

#### Pamphlets and the Like

Amongst pamphlets and odd numbers of periodicals recently received there is a 184-page report of the U.S. Inter-regional Highways Committee on a new system of trunk roads, the 65th Bulletin of the New York Regional Plan Association containing a report on the resources and purchasing power of the region (have we got anything like it?), the second number of the new *Standards Review* (showing amongst other things the hideous "proposed British Standard cast-iron lamp post") and the fourth Annual Report of the National Buildings Record (whose new chairman is Sir Eric Maclagan). It will be learned with regret from this report that Mr. Summerson will in future only be able to work part-time on the Record. Mr. Farthing has been appointed the Record's Librarian.

From Russia come two 1945 numbers of *Architecture*, the mimeographed VOKS bulletin in English, full of reconstruction news and reports of lectures by academicians curiously reminiscent of those given to Louis XIV's Paris Academy in the sixteen-seventies and eighties. There is always some valuable information at the back of the bulletins on Russian archeology. A summing-up more specifically designed to satisfy British curiosity are the reports on town-planning, architecture and building, edited by Mr. A. Ling for the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. November 8 is the most recent number.



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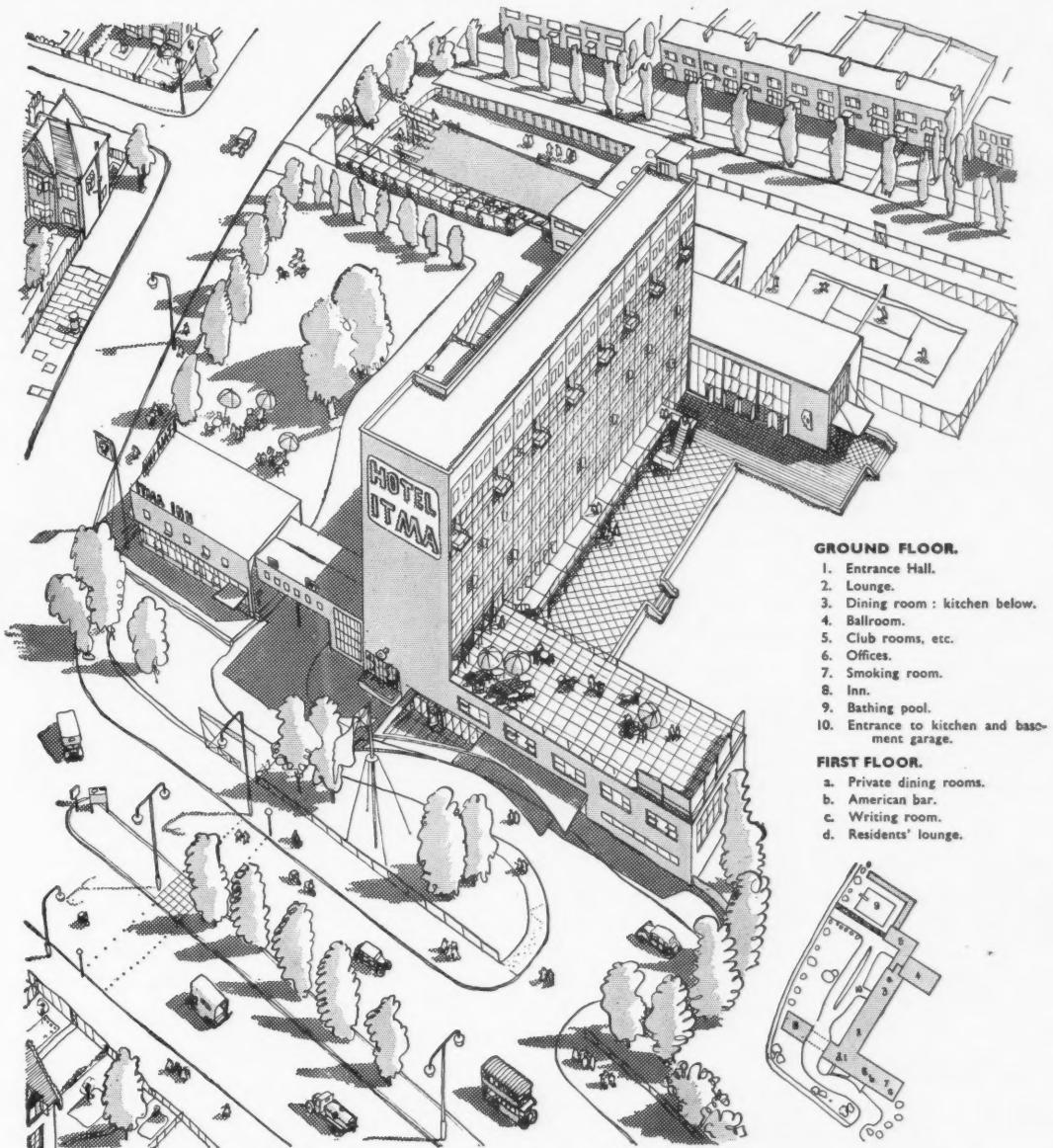
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2. Lounge.
3. Dining room : kitchen below.
4. Ballroom.
5. Club rooms, etc.
6. Offices.
7. Smoking room.
8. Inn.
9. Bathing pool.
10. Entrance to kitchen and basement garage.

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- b. American bar.
- c. Writing room.
- d. Residents' lounge.

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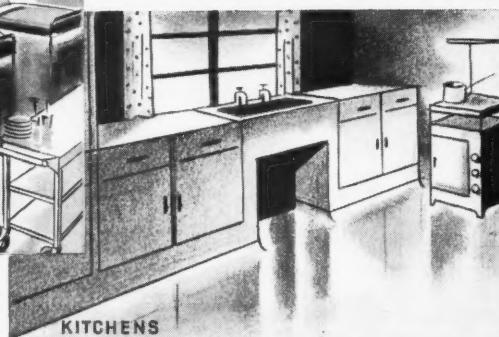
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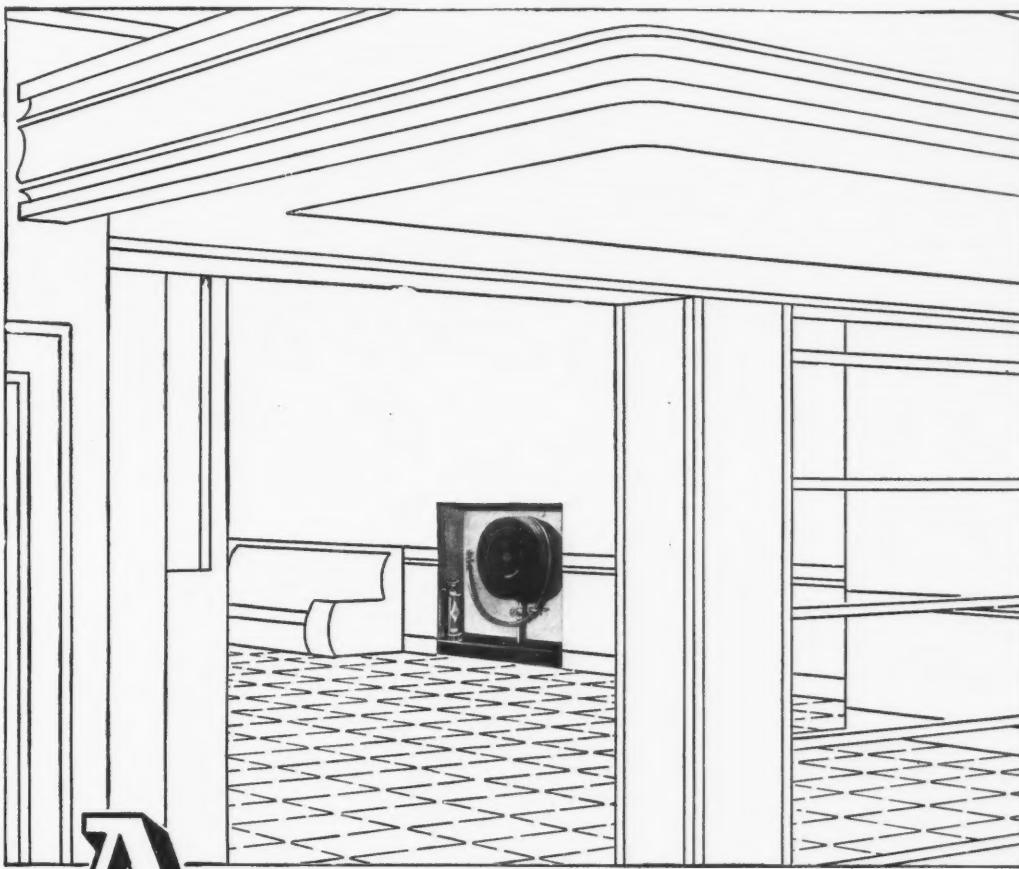
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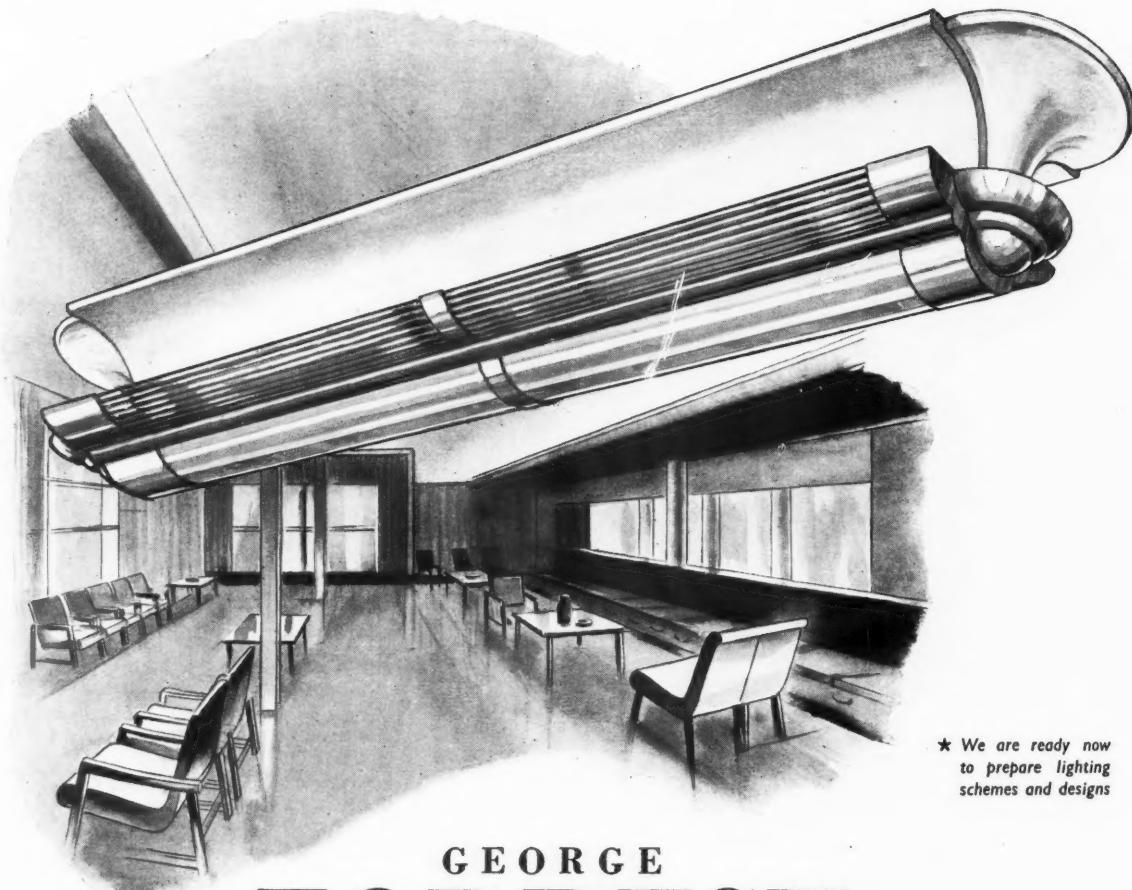
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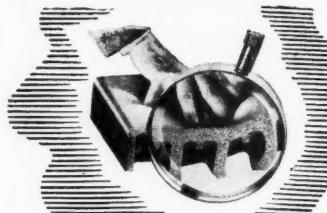
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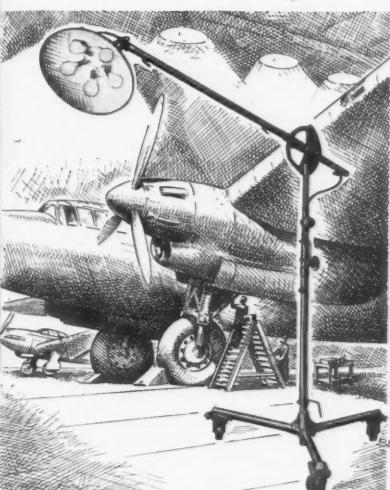
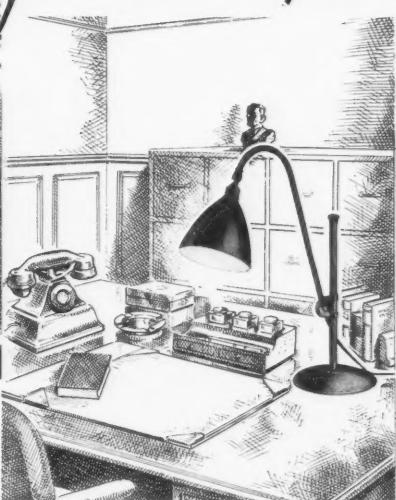
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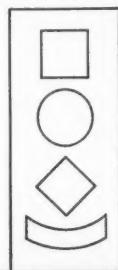
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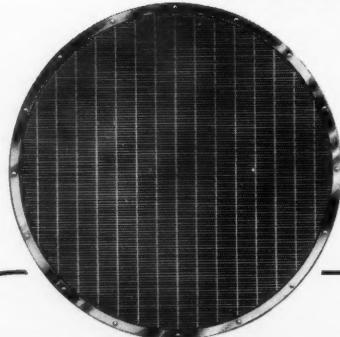
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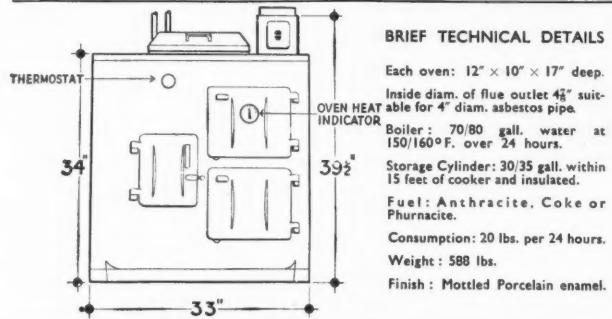
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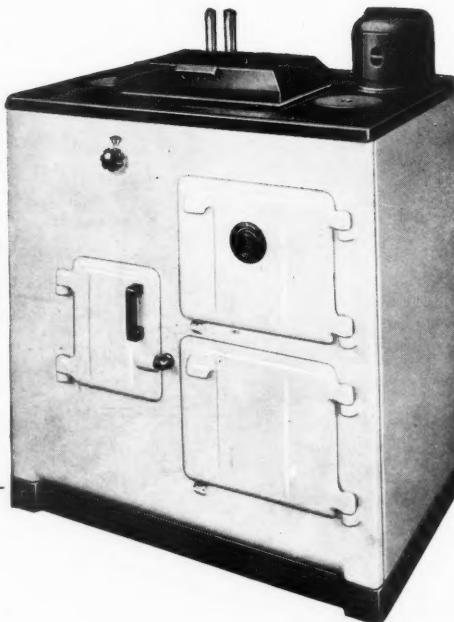
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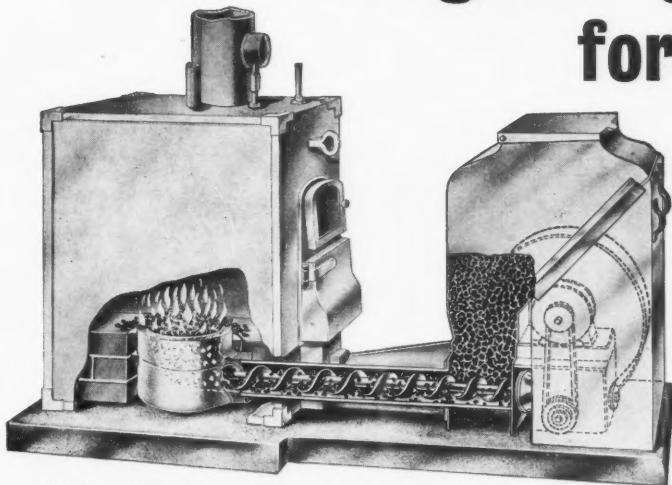


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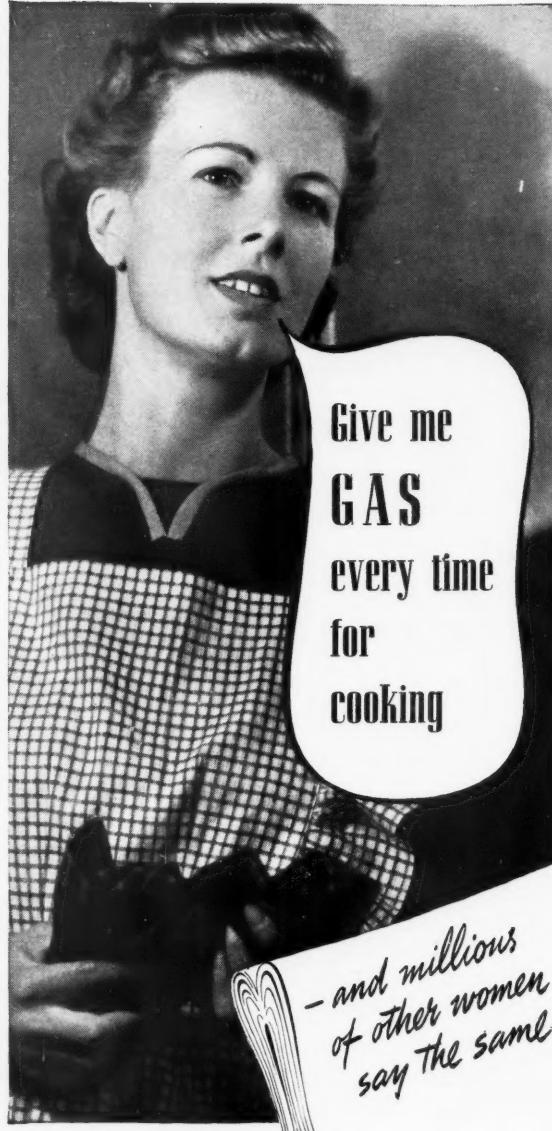
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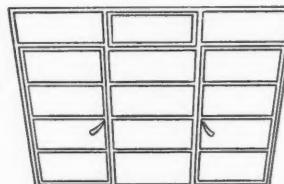
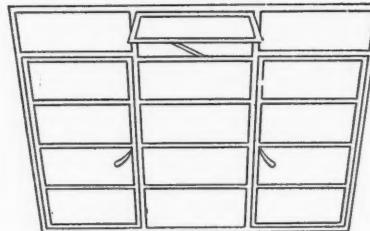
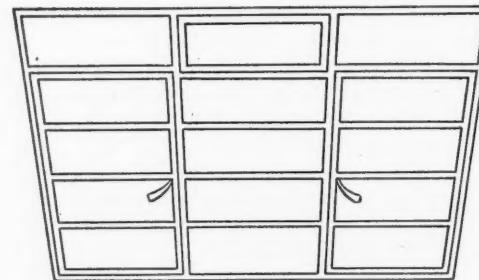
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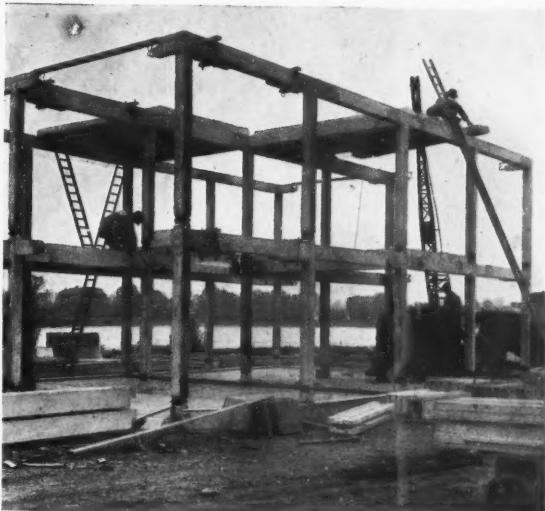
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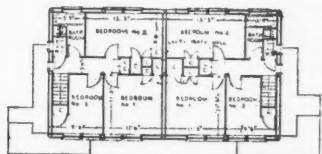


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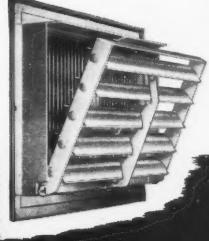
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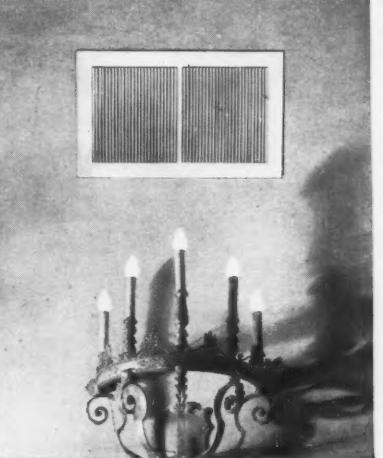
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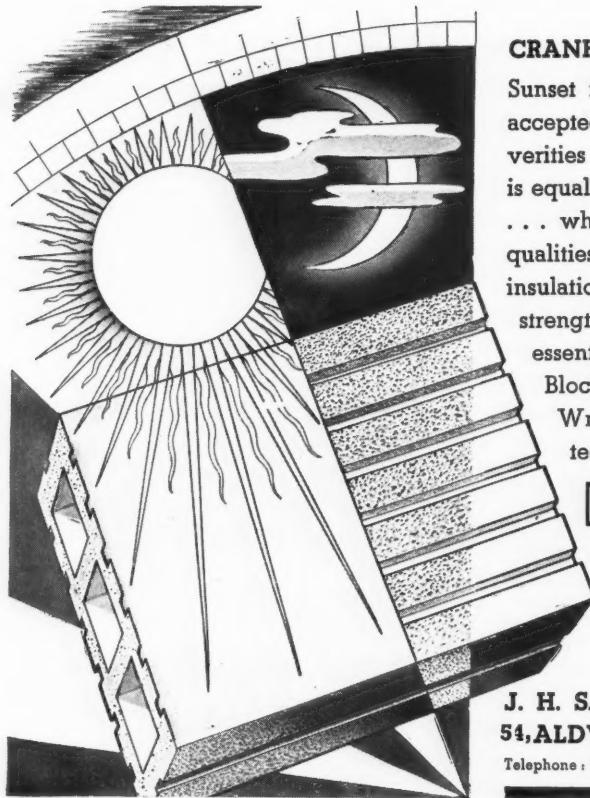
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*A new method of Lighting*

IT is now clear that very soon the accommodation and equipment of all provided schools will have to be raised to a common standard—the highest. So far as lighting is concerned (certainly in the case of the "plan units" contemplated in the Government report on "Standard Construction for Schools") this inevitably means the use of fluorescent lamps, providing, as they do, illumination of approximately daylight quality.

Specific advantages of Mazda Fluorescent Lamps for school lighting include:—

- 1) **Efficiency**—they give *three times* as much light as the best tungsten filament lamp of equal rating.
- 2) **More light**—because of their very high efficiency, far greater intensities of lighting are economically possible.
- 3) **Diffusion**—low surface brightness reduces glare and aids even diffusion of light.
- 4) **Daylight appearance**—the quality of Mazda Fluorescent lighting is almost indistinguishable from daylight.

Mazda Fluorescent Lamps can be used in the daytime to *supplement* daylight, with the object of (a) equalising the illumination throughout the rooms so that children remote from windows can see just as well as those who are close to them, and (b) increasing the amount of *effective or usable* room area.

BTH now manufacture *two* fluorescent lamps (a) the original Mazda *Daylight* Fluorescent Lamp suitable for class rooms and (b) the new Mazda *Warm-White* Fluorescent Lamp which provides a warmer illumination of *sunlight* quality (suitable for halls, playrooms, etc.).

BTH Engineers of the Lighting Advisory Service are qualified to inspect the lighting in any school and to submit a report. This will enable you to decide whether the lighting is hindering or helping educational progress and how it is affecting eyesight and general health. In the event of modifications or improvements being necessary, BTH Engineers can design the installation and recommend the most suitable Mazda Lamps and Mazdalux equipment.



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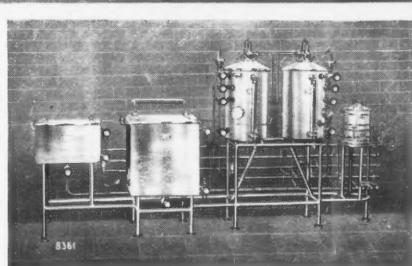
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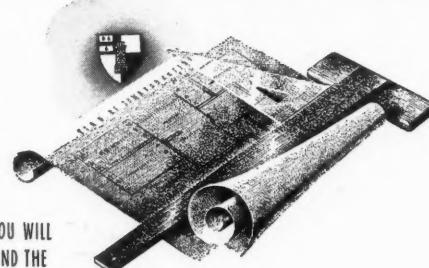
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# KINGSTON *factory-made* PERMANENT HOMES

AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF TARRAN INDUSTRIES, LTD.

Kingston Building Industries, Ltd., a subsidiary of Tarran Industries, Ltd., has now completed plans for Kingston factory-made permanent homes and production is about to begin.

The Kingston method of construction, perfected by the Company's technical experts, provides for the complete manufacture of houses, flats and other buildings with a life of at least 60 years, using factory production methods throughout.

Tarran Industries, Ltd. are at present engaged on Ministry of Works contracts for 11,000 temporary houses. Of these, 1,000 houses in the Hull programme will be manufactured by autumn, and erected before the end of the year.

At the same time, the organization of the Company is being extended to accommodate a greatly increased future production of Kingston factory-made permanent homes.

1 The Company at present operates factories at Hull, Thorpe, Middlesbrough and Bellshill, Glasgow.

2 The Company proposes to acquire or erect a further seven factories in carefully chosen districts dividing the country into regions. This makes possible the full utilization of local labour and minimizes transport difficulties.

3 The Kingston method of construction is based on the principle of producing the complete house in the factory and reducing site work to a minimum.

4 The Kingston method of construction is not tied to any one material. Materials are used according to their suitability.

5 Kingston factory-made permanent homes offer a diversity of colour and texture in the outer skin in order that they may be in keeping with varying local traditions and landscapes.

6 Interior equipment is efficient and comprehensive and great care has been given to the planning of the kitchen and bath room. Every home will have constant hot water and an open fire in the living room.

7 Kingston factory-made permanent homes are despatched from regional depots in complete units ready for immediate erection on site. Thus, delay caused by incomplete deliveries is avoided.

8 Using the Kingston method of construction, a complete house can be erected on site within two days.

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Local Authorities desiring further information should write to:  
Kingston Building Industries, Ltd., subsidiary of Tarran Industries, Ltd. Head Office: 32, Duke Street, St. James, S.W.1 Telephone: Whitehall 0321.

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